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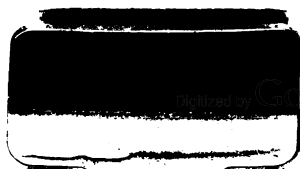
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IMPRESSIONS OF CHINA,

AND

THE PRESENT REVOLUTION:
ITS PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS.

BY CAPT. <sup>Edmund
Gardiner</sup> FISHBOURNE,

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
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Ann Arbor, Michigan

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IMPRESSIONS OF CHINA,

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THE PRESENT REVOLUTION : ITS PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS.

*Edmund
Gardiner*
BY CAPT. FISHBOURNE,

COMMANDER OF THE HERMES, ON HER LATE VISIT TO NANKIN.

SEELEY, JACKSON, AND HALLIDAY, FLEET STREET;
AND B. SEELEY, HANOVER STREET.

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PREFACE.

THE writer has less diffidence in submitting this little work to the public, since it was suggested to him by more than one whose opinions he had just reason to value, that he ought to undertake something of the kind ; and also from the consciousness, that in publishing, he sought no mere party or personal ends.

Much occupation upon objects of more pressing interest, and having more urgent claims, has prevented the continuous attention being given to the subject that it deserves. It is hoped this will be deemed a sufficient apology for many of its defects.

The object sought in this work has been fairly to state the question in respect to China's present condition and future prospects, with a view to its obtaining a candid and careful examination, such as the importance of the subject demands ;—to shew that unwise interference can neither be beneficial to us, nor our

commercial interests, and would, it is more than probable, retard the progress of that country towards better things.

It has been said, that the Insurgents are students of Scripture, and anxious for the dissemination of its truths, and each new fact learnt concerning them seems to establish the truth of this statement.

The last work of theirs, received by the "Styx," fully justifies the above, for though it is professedly only a work upon political economy, many of the ideas and sentiments set forth in it are certainly drawn from the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, and obviously by themselves; and though these do not always agree with our general deductions from the same source, they yet establish a very important point or two;—viz., that they admit the supremacy of Scripture, and are desirous of conforming to its requirements.

Nor can their offerings to the Deity be considered an exception, even though these should be esteemed by some as more than thank-offerings, since the tendency in every age has been towards the material in this respect; in forgetfulness that "God is a Spirit, and that they that worship Him *must* worship Him in spirit." If it be not the special sin of our day and generation,—

“ Say, shall we yield Him, in costly devotion,
Odours of Eden, and offerings divine ;
Gems of the mountain, and pearls of the ocean,
Myrrh from the forest, and gold from the mine ?
Vainly we offer each ample oblation—
Vainly with gifts would his favours secure :
Richer by far is the heart’s adoration,
Dearer to God are the prayers of the poor.”

Though their political economy be faulty, they seem to have discovered that selfishness may account for many phenomena, and as a motive of action produce considerable results, and yet be a most unsatisfactory principle of action, incompatible at once with true happiness, and the spirit of the Gospel, and of that kingdom of righteousness they evidently see shadowed forth in prophecy.

Already they anticipate the day, “ when the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ ;” and thence it was they refused to sell coals to the “Styx” and “ Rattler ;” telling their interpreter and officers, that “ they did not understand the rules of the heavenly kingdom :” yet this idea of theirs need not lead to any apprehension of commercial obstacles, for the love of trade, and a sense of its value, is too strong in the minds of the Chinese to be easily eradicated.

In this respect they are more consistent than many who impugn their Christianity.

If we understand aright what they mean to inculcate, there are many and grave errors propagated by them, yet there is hope in the fact that they have not adopted the *spiritual mode of interpretation*, by which anything can be, and is, made, of the statements of holy writ, and under which, an appeal to Scripture is *not* an end to controversy. The very literalness of interpretation which they have adopted, has perhaps tended to lead them into some of their errors ; but it has this advantage, that it shuts no door to a correct reading, and leaves room for a decision on controverted points, by admitting an appeal to the authority of Scripture.

The following extracts will illustrate the foregoing.

“As soon as harvest arrives, every vexillary must see to it, that the five and twenty parishes under his charge have a sufficient supply of food ; and what is over and above of the new grain he must deposit in the public granary. This must be done with respect to wheat, pulse, hemp, flax, cloth, silk, fowls, dogs, and money : for the whole empire is the universal property of our Heavenly Father, the great God and Supreme Lord : and when all the people in the empire avoid selfishness, and consecrate everything to the Supreme Lord, then the sovereign will have sufficient to use, and all the families of the empire, in every place, will be

equally provided for, while every individual will be well fed and clothed. This is what our Heavenly Father the Great God and Supreme Lord has especially commanded the true sovereign of the Thae-ping dynasty, with the view of saving the whole world.

“ In every circle of five-and-twenty families, the youths must every day go to the church, where the vexillary is to teach them to read the holy books of the Old and New Testaments, as well as the proclamation of the duly-appointed sovereign.

“ Every Sabbath the five cinquevirs in the circle must lead the men and women under their charge to the church, where the males and females are to sit in separate rows. On these occasions there will be preaching, thanksgivings, and offerings to our Heavenly Father, the Great God and Supreme Lord.

“ All officers and people, both within and without the court, must every Sabbath go to hear the expounding of the holy book, reverently present their offerings, and worship and praise our Heavenly Father, the Great God and universal Lord. Throughout every seven times seven, or forty-nine Sabbaths, the prefects, tribunes, and centurions shall go in turns to the churches belonging to each vexillary under their jurisdiction, and expound the holy book, instruct the people, and examine whether they obey or disobey the

commandments, also as to whether they are diligent or slothful. On the first of the seven times seven, or forty-nine Sabbaths, a certain prefect goes to the church of a given vexillary, then on the second of the forty-nine Sabbaths he must go the church of another vexillary, so visiting them all in order ; and after he has gone the round, he must do the same again.

“ If any man throughout the empire has a family, including wife and children, amounting to three, four, five, six, seven, eight, or nine individuals, he must give up one to be a soldier. With regard to the rest, the widowers, widows, orphans, and childless, together with the sick and feeble, shall be excused from service, and shall all be fed from the public granary.

“ All the officers throughout the empire, every Sabbath-day, must, according to their rank, reverently and sincerely provide animals, with meat and drink-offerings, for worship, in order to praise our Heavenly Father, the great God and universal Lord ; they must also explain the holy book. Should any fail in this, they shall be degraded to the level of plebians. Respect this.”

It is evident the insurgents are seeking to establish a species of Theocracy, something like what they conceive that of Israel to have been ; Israel, whose history

they have always considered as the type of their own, modified by their ideas of the New Testament.

They perceive it more than stated, for they see it in almost every page, that there will be a period, a kingdom of universal peace, when "there will be no more sin,—when sorrow and sighing shall flee away." But they think their King is destined to establish that period of rest and blessedness.

Many more, orthodox on most points, also perceive this great truth ; but these, not less loose in their interpretation of Scripture in so thinking, imagine also, that this millennium is to be brought about by the instrumentality of poor sinful humanity.

Pride has always been fatal to the progress of truth, if it had not been so, eighteen hundred years experience would have taught men, that this crowning achievement is, and can only be accomplished by the Lord of glory. This truth is the ballast of the spiritual vessel, that keeps her from being "blown about by every wind of doctrine and sleight of men ;" the key to understand Scripture and the providence of God, whose plans change not with the varying fortunes of men, dynasties, or empires, they form a part of, or subserve, His designs.

Did we realize this, we should be kept humble ; not unduly elated, with those who imagined the Mil-

lennium almost commenced, when they heard of the Gospel being preached to the millions in China, or depressed with those who think all false, because the "devil has taken the good seed out of the hearts of the way-side hearers," and has re-entered the "house that had been swept and garnished."

It is intensely interesting to know that they have discovered in Scripture the important and influential truth that a "*Tien-Kwoh*," or Heavenly kingdom, is foretold, and that they are so convinced it will come, that they are endeavouring to bring it about. That they so believe, (though it may be associated with some misconception) cannot but be productive of great good.

There has been no scruple in quoting from any reliable source; these have been for the most part, "the Chinese Revolution,"* the "North China Herald," and the "Friend of China;"—to both of these much credit is due;—the first for translations of the Insurgents' work, the last, for the very accurate information it has always had upon the subject of the movement.

The question is an immensely important one, yet nothing, I fear, can obtain for it the measure of attention it deserves, during these painfully interesting and

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exciting moments, while our armies in the East are adding another and another bright page to the annals of our country's glory ; bright as they can be, while we mourn the loss of so many of our noblest and our bravest.

E. G. F.

2, *Chester Place, Chester Square,*
Dec. 15, 1854.

*Any Profits arising to the Author from this Work, will be
given in aid of the Evangelization of China.*

IMPRESSIONS OF CHINA.

CHAPTER I.

CHINESE CUSTOMS—HIGHWAYS ON THE WATER—EXPERT JUGGLERS AND THIEVES—POLITE, BUT NOT TRULY SO—MERIT REGARDED—DEVOTION—DEGRADATION—INFANTICIDE—LIMITED RESOURCES OF GOVERNMENT—WAR, ITS CONSEQUENCES—KE-SHEN'S WEALTH—PROFLIGACY OF THE CHINESE—OCCASIONAL NOBLENESSE—INSURGENT PROCLAMATION—EFFECT OF TRADE—OF MISSIONARIES—OF INTERCOURSE—OF GOVERNMENT SANCTIONING CHRISTIANITY—TRIALS—DISBELIEF IN IDOLATRY—ROMAN CATHOLICS—MION-TZE.

CHINA, its government, and people, as seen from any point of view, present a deeply interesting, if not always an instructive spectacle; and when viewed in comparison with our nation and country, they are in decided contrast.

The antiquity of the empire, its immensity, its teeming population, their very early but partial civilization,

the stereotyped character of their customs, the enormous yet undeveloped resources of the country, and the very limited resources of the government.

Take the opinion of an Englishman upon any subject, or his mode of raciocination, and those of a Chinaman on the same subject, and they will be found to be the very opposite.

Equally so are their customs the opposite to ours, and this may in some measure account for the decided difference in character.

Our mourning is black, their's is white.

We desire to "bury our dead out of our sight;" they keep them above-ground sometimes for years, and have storehouses in which thousands of coffins are ranged, waiting fitting opportunities to send them to their own provinces.

"Our ancestors find their graves in our short memories."

They worship them.

We think of our ancestors only when they have been great, and have ennobled us. They think of how they may ennoble them.

They treat their females with contempt and cruelty; they give them no voice in determining who or whether they shall marry, and sell them to the highest bidder.

They allow polygamy and concubinage.

With us a prisoner is not called upon to convict himself, or to say anything to prejudice his case.

They profess not to condemn or punish any man till he has confessed the crime laid to his charge ; and they use torture to extract the confession they wish—often untrue, but one which the officials have been directed or bribed to obtain.

We confront the witnesses with the prisoner ; they only do so when it suits their convenience.

They summon, it is true, all—even those only *likely* to have been implicated—not so much for the discovery and punishment of the offender, as to exact a fee for their liberation—though all should prove innocent.

The consequence of which is, no one will lend a helping hand to save another from drowning or any other kind of death, lest they should be implicated by these myrmidons of the law.

On one occasion I requested to speak to a man who was in custody, to obtain some information relative to Coolie emigration ; he was produced upon a shutter, quite insensible, and unable to move more than his eyes : every joint seemed to have been dislocated by torture, to induce him to confess, what—I cannot say. He was much less to blame than his employer, who

was an Englishman, and less to blame than the mandarins who tortured him ; for they connived at the illegalities perpetrated, in that so-called emigration, until they produced a popular disturbance—then they professed to be highly indignant, and visited their sins upon this poor man.

They manifest a great deal of outward politeness, more than any other country, perhaps there is no country where this is so extensively reduced to rule ; but this is as devoid of all true politeness as possible—that proceeding from genuine kindliness of heart.

They have no hereditary peerage ; and the Emperor selects which of his sons it shall be who shall succeed him.

When a man by his talents or services has attained to a peerage, he ennobles his ancestors and not his descendants—his rank and titles die with him.

The female living ancestors of any thus recently ennobled are taken round the district in sedan-chairs, accompanied by the wives of the superior mandarins, and presented to those previously ennobled.

With us the son of the lowest may become the first peer in the realm ; with them play-actors, jesters, keepers of disorderly houses, with slaves and their children to the third generation, are excluded ; those

who have violated the laws of their country or have suffered punishment are also excluded.

We carry out the command to increase and multiply, and *replenish the earth*; they prohibit emigration; and this has been strictly adhered to in the case of the females—very few, and those only of superior character, having left it.

Amongst the changes introduced by the Revolution, this is one—a few respectable females have left, and the number of those who leave is increasing.

Our highways are upon land, their's are by water, by navigable rivers, canals, and lakes; and as a consequence there is an enormous population who live and die on the water, and land only for as short intervals as are ordinarily spent at sea by any of our people. This class is said to amount to 400,000 on the Canton river,—a number by no means improbable, when the length of the river and its number of creeks are taken into consideration.

In this respect, Canton presents a spectacle unequalled in the world, with its thousands of vessels of all kinds, size, and construction, from those of 300 tons, which bring down the teas and other exports,—to the little boat, capable of carrying only one person with a little fruit or vegetables,—yet all are houses, complete in their appointments, with coverings, which

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are moveable, to keep off the sun or rain, as may be ; and each having its little earthen fireplace, and place set apart for its Joss, or Image-god, with places in front of it for burning incense—all shewing immense mechanical skill and beauty of adaptation—such, that I have watched them for hours and days, still finding something new to admire.

The skill and dexterity with which they ply about is very remarkable ; the thoroughfare is so crowded at times, that it is quite impossible to use oars as we do at the side ; so they are obliged to skull them by a single oar, fixed upon a pivot over the stern ;—men, women, or children, propel them with marvellous rapidity.

Many of these boats have large houses on them, built of beautifully-carved wood, used for pleasure parties, and all kinds of dissipation, which many of the very profligate people of Canton indulge in, through their long summers. These are lit up every night, till twelve or one o'clock, and with their innumerable lights streaming out over the glassy smooth waters, adding further to the extreme beauty of the scene. The water, for the most part, being already brilliantly phosphorescent, lighting up the multitude of boats, passing and re-passing.

This class is considered degraded, and any persons

intermarrying with them, lose cast ; yet they often evince much more feeling than those who despise them.

To come away from Canton, on one occasion, it was necessary to turn the *Hermes* in a narrow passage ; and to do so, it was requisite to go stern foremost a short distance, in doing which she passed over a Chinese boat, in which were a man, his wife, and six children, who, of course, were all thrown out,—as the boat cap-sized and filled,—and were drawn towards the wheels by the current of water occasioned by their motion.

The man got on board quickly, and his wife was picked up by one of the men of the *Hermes*, but I shall not readily forget the picture of misery they presented till all the children were restored to them ; and the affectionate way in which they then clasped them in their arms. Happily the intense interest excited by them in both officers and men, was such, that they were all saved, and their losses made good by subscription. We have often met them since, and they always evinced a very grateful feeling towards all those belonging to the ship.

Curious to know their feelings under such circumstances, we asked the woman what she did and thought while in the water ? She answered, that she cried out “ Joss, Joss, oh Joss ! save me ; ” and that then she came to the surface of the water and was picked up.

These poor creatures have a simple, but ingenious contrivance, to protect their children from the hazard of drowning, which they would otherwise be liable to, from falling overboard while playing about in the boats ; they tie a gourd upon their backs, which is lighter than cork, and sufficient to float them, should they fall into the water.

The high lands in China are not nearly so much cultivated as with us ; this may arise from the previous fact mentioned, their highways being on the water ; or it may be that they reserve them for their burial-places, which they cut out of the side of the hill, in the shape of an omega, placing a seat at the upper part, or rather above them, for the spirit to sit and admire the place where it walked when in the body.

The effect however of their highways being on the water, is, that most men in China are accustomed to the water, and it gives a facility and cheapness to the transit of people and goods, which nothing else possesses ; and this has not been without its influence on the present movement.

They have not any wheel-carriages, unless a species of wheel-barrow be called such ; a wheel about four feet in diameter, with a seat on either side, suspended or fixed upon the axle, and driven by a man.

They are most expert at slight of hand. I was amazingly struck with an instance of this which I witnessed at Shanghae : Walking through the public gardens, I came upon a group watching a man who was stript literally to the skin as far as the waist, and had only a thin pair of trousers on : he was standing over what I fully believed to be a dead pig ; he professed to say that it was a boy. The body was covered, —except a small portion of the stomach,—with an old cloth ;—a pair of legs, or, as I insisted, a pair of leggings, protruded from under this cloth, and remained in such an attitude and so motionless, as to establish in my mind that they were but leggings stuffed, with a pair of shoes attached.

The man appeared to have a large long-bladed butcher's knife thrust up to the hilt into that portion of the stomach that was left uncovered, which he moved about as if to draw all the blood from the heart as butchers do, and blood seemed to flow from the wound, and yet there was not a motion perceptible ; so much so, that I insisted that it must be a dead pig ; however, though we were standing not more than three yards from him, he drew the knife, which was as I have described, a long-bladed butcher's knife, and shewed it round ; he then apparently closed the lips of the wound, appeared to staunch the wound, wiped off

the blood which seemed to have flowed, and then he removed the cloth, when a boy stood up, looking certainly more dead than alive, but none the worse for the operations the man had been performing over him : he also was stript to the waist. I never could ascertain how it was done.

No one ever thinks of taking dollars from a Chinaman ; and this because they have so little compunction in deceiving one ; their morality is of that easy kind that they readily persuade themselves that any deception they can practise is but legitimate cleverness.

I suppose upon the principle of " setting a thief to catch a thief," this difficulty suggested the employment of Chinese for the purpose of examining dollars and other money. These men are called Shroffs ; and all the dollars passed by the houses in trade—of which there will be many thousands in the day—are passed through these men's hands.

There are many points respecting a heap of such dollars to be ascertained before the value is arrived at. Thus, the Mexican and American and other dollars are less in value than the Spanish : then Carolus dollars are worth from three to ten per cent more than any other description of Spanish dollars ; but any dollar that has been defaced is called a chopt dollar, and is of less value than the unchopt dollar of the

respective coinage. But there are also often counterfeit dollars—copper, with the dollar stamp, silvered over—or dollars which have had the centre taken out and lead inserted.

It is perfectly wonderful to see the rapidity with which these men make the necessary division, and with what unflinching accuracy.

They take the dollar up on their finger, balance and thus weigh it, and look at both sides, throwing the light into one heap, the bad into another, the Carolus to a third, and the Spanish to a fourth, almost as fast as the eye can follow the dollar from the original heap to that into which it is finally thrown; after which the light are weighed and valued accordingly.

For this they only charge one dollar per thousand, and they hold themselves responsible that they will not have passed a bad one.

It is stated—I cannot say with what truth—that the first instalment of the Chinese indemnity money having been received without its having been shroffed, the Chinese Government officers smuggled in ten or twelve per cent of bad money.

For many years, merit was a sure passport to office and honour—and it may fairly be offered as a proof of their growing degradation, that this is becoming less and less the case; while we may take credit to our-

selves that we are improving, since we are more and more adopting that which they are abandoning.

With us, a prophet is not without honour, except in his own country and amongst his own people. They insist—or, more properly, did insist—that a man should first obtain honour amongst his own people and in his own country : perhaps it is a true test of greatness when a man rises superior to and overcomes the prejudices of those who are acquainted with his antecedents.

With all their regard for politeness, they are habitually indecent ; and though they have baths at so low a rate that the poorest people can avail themselves of the luxury, they are a dirty people.

They shave the hair off the head as far back as the ears, allow the remainder to grow long, comb it back, and plait it into a queue or tail, and if this do not reach nearly to the ground, they either add false hair or silk to make it sufficiently long.

It is considered so great a disgrace not to have this long tail, that the mandarins often cut it off for minor offences. When a man is seen without it, it is at once taken for granted that he is a bad character.

The Chinaman ignorantly worships the unknown God ; but is ever true and only true on this point to his profession. He may have low ideas of his power ;

he may have degrading ideas of his attributes, yet he never fails to acknowledge his existence and his power ; limited, though he may conceive it to be,—whether in the homestead or the highway.

A place in every house, in every shop, in every vessel, in every boat, however small, is set apart for an image of the god whom they adore, and whose favour they propitiate every day, and specially on the occasions of new undertakings.

His devotion is perhaps his highest point, but it certainly is the cause of much of his degradation. It is the highest that man is capable of rising to under the blighting influence of a false religion ; but how low is that ! it almost insures, while he adheres to it, that all else must be false too.

Compare them with the men of Bible lands upon all moral points, and then will be seen the power of truth, even where its influence and authority is denied ; then will be seen how very far they are below the common standard of Christendom, and how much below that of Christianity ; and what a mighty lever has been required to lift them, when they are raised to the point of asking, What is truth ? and how differently we should measure results there, to what we do at home.

As a people they are cold and calculating, selfish, suspicious, servile, having no regard for truth, and des-

titute of all shame—systematizing the practice of sins that are not so much as named among Christians, I might say, not known amongst men of Bible lands. Infanticide is by no means the worst, and for this there is a tolerable pretext in the stern necessities under which they live—they are driven to great straits. There are millions always on the verge of starvation, and it is equally certain that thousands annually perish from want; thousands of the female children of the very poor are drowned: the only alternative presenting itself to them is that of selling them to slavery and the lowest degradation.

To my own knowledge this practice of infanticide was continued up to a recent period at Amoy and Shanghai; and the bodies of infants so drowned were to be seen any day in a pond at Amoy, or in a creek adjoining the city at Shanghai, by those who chose to satisfy themselves on the point.

This nation also when compared within itself presents no less singular contrasts.

It is that one which in size, in numbers, in wealth, in internal resources, seems to exceed all others; and yet its people are the most narrow-minded and the most devoid of true greatness. Its great wall is a work which only a numberless people could have effected; but a great nation would never have built a wall to keep out

the incursions of a few marauders. It no more proclaims their greatness than do the frowning batteries of Cronstadt or Sebastopol prove the power of Russia ; it rather betrays weakness, and the fear of reprisals for unjust aggressions.

To characterize them in a few words, they are a large nation of very little men ; possessing a very large staff of Government officials with very little collective power.

Up to a somewhat late period in the history of China, it had been a time-honored usage to fill all the civil offices under Government, (with the exception of a few of the higher, which were reserved for favorite Manchooks) from the ranks of those who had excelled at the periodical examinations for literary degrees ; and not without considerable benefit to the state ; for though the literature of China is meagre and defective, it is not without a moral teaching—and by this means also they obtained the active co-operation of the most practised intellects in the country, bound over, if not by wisdom, at least by a sense of gratitude and self-interest, to the cause of order.

Rulers so chosen cannot but be powerful to the extent of their abilities ; for as they are chosen by a method, which honestly carried out, commends itself to every one's mind, they are elected, so to speak, by

a species of universal suffrage, which will account for their popularity and influence.

The customs and habit of thought of China, seem to have been stereotyped by the above practice—from the fact that the language being in hieroglyphics, the sign and its corresponding idea must be committed to memory—and from the law which forbids any departure from ancient customs. A law which there was a board of censors to enforce.

These points of contrast might have been indefinitely extended; but thus much—at least of the Chinese customs—of what China was, and to a great extent is, was necessary to a just appreciation of what she may be, and what the present movement is, and is likely to produce. I have therefore given it, though it does not seem quite relevant to the movement.

There is a limit to man's power. They have supposed that these plans would suffice for all time—at least so the originators of them proposed; but God disposed otherwise.

The time for change had arrived. The spell that had enabled three millions of Manchooks, who had long lost their martial character, to keep bound in misery more than three hundred millions of the most intelligent of the human race, was to be broken by a mightier—even that which enabled these insignifi-

cant islands in the far west to give parentage, laws, and literature to half the world.

War, which notwithstanding its horrors, is never without its moral phase, burst upon China to teach its inhabitants a lesson they were quick to learn; though their vanity induced them to pretend far otherwise. The Emperor even degraded and banished Keshen and Keying, for daring to hint the possibility of such a humiliation.

Nevertheless, the nation which is the most inflated and idiosyncratic, learnt that it was not the most powerful; furthermore, that as the many had been beaten by the few, without knowing exactly how, the many, i. e., the nation, could not be the most wise either.

Their idol-gods had been applied to. The Emperor proceeded in solemn state to implore their aid. They too had utterly failed them: nothing seemed to arrest the progress of the British arms.

The more thoughtful began to doubt—even to believe, that we must be more than mere Barbarians. They felt humiliated perhaps, they professed to hate us, and were taught to insult us. They saw that the Government systematically vilified us—in proclamations and otherwise. The people for a time thought this was for their benefit. Soon they saw that it proceeded

from fear—in the feelings of both there was a large ingredient of respect for us.

One of the Insurgent Chiefs, General Lo, said to us, "I was at Canton during the war, and I know what you can do." About two years since, a Portuguese *Lorcha* was seized by some Pirates and detained for eight months; during which time the Chinese, when about to attack a vessel, invariably put on the European clothes, of which they had stripped the Portuguese for the purpose.

The war revealed to the people the weakness of their government, and the corruption of its employés; for, strange to say, the monetary affairs of the government were thrown into inextricable difficulties by having to pay the six millions of indemnity money, though the payment was spread over the long period of five years.

I say, strange,—for who could have supposed that the payment of six millions in five years by the government of so vast a country, and with such immense resources, would have embarrassed them.

Not one of us have yet fully realized how very weak that government is, nor how deeply corrupt are its employés.

When Keshen was degraded, banished, and his property confiscated for his English leanings, (in reality for acknowledging our power and their weakness,) it

is said on official authority, that he had amassed the sum of six millions ; and it is further said, that after being restored, and placed as Viceroy over Tibet, he very soon again amassed an equal sum.

Again in 1853, the Pekin Gazette announced that four influential families had been directed to pay into the Imperial treasury, to meet the expenses of the revolution, the sum of £700,000 sterling, and it further stated that they could easily do so.

This could only be the case where the resources of the country were enormous, and the permitted exactions of the employés of the government from the people very great.

It is stated on official authority, that where the official income of mandarins is not more than £200 or £300 a year, their recognized income from exactions was not less sometimes than £8,000 and £10,000 a year.

It may be said that the difficulties of the government grew immediately out of the war ; but in reality they arose from a deeper-seated and a chronic weakness, which was then for the first time fully revealed and, as if they were visited with a judicial blindness—the means they adopted to extricate themselves were those which aggravated it.

The Court had long seen that change would end in

revolution, and even where it did not conflict with its own selfish interests, it had steadily resisted all such. But the Court wanted money: it wanted influence: and to arrive at either of these, it did not hesitate to sacrifice long-established principles of the empire. It unhesitatingly sold places and honors, and shocked the prejudices it had so long fostered.

The people, seeing the weakness of the executive, and feeling the increased burthen of taxation, begun to resist what was called the ordinary taxation; but which in reality had been increased twenty and thirty per cent., to meet the cravings of the employés; who, having purchased their places, considered they had a right to farm the taxes to the best advantage, in order to reimburse themselves for their outlay; and they were the more inclined to this, not knowing how long the opportunity would be continued to them. In many cases the people resisted with success. The Court in some cases, in order to pacify them, was obliged to yield—not only the point in dispute—but also to confer distinctions on some of the most prominent persons in the revolt.

The government, generally, it is true, to save appearances, managed to effect a compromise, and thus staved off the evil day. There was often a nobleness manifested, on the part of individuals, worthy of any country

and any creed, but which was all lost on the degraded court and selfish mandarin class.

It has been known that leaders in such movements have voluntarily given themselves up to cruel death and torture, to save their families and neighbourhood from oppression. The death and torture of these satisfied the government ; and the withdrawing of the obnoxious person, or the refraining from making the exactions, pacified the people for a time ; but they could not forget the cruelty, nor forgive the government for exacting the sacrifice.

To me, from almost the first month after arriving in China, it was a marvel how any one could suppose the government of China either a strong or paternal one.

In the viceroyalty of Canton, where the Chinese system has been most strictly carried out, every boat, almost, is armed as if for war ; and no doubt for plunder, or protection against it.

It is true, the history of China records that piracies were always numerous, and sometimes formidable ; so whenever the government was weak, which it evidently was soon after the war, piracy was commenced on a grand scale, and the proceedings of the government in respect of it proclaim its degradation.

When Shap-ut-say's fleet was destroyed by our men-of-war, and himself captured, the Chinese government

compounded with him by making him a mandarin, and establishing him in office. This man has more than once written to the Englishman who was interpreter to the expedition which destroyed his fleet, to say how much obliged he feels to his English friend for having captured him. It was said that he had been ordered to Quang-si to assist in putting down the Tae-ping movement; with what success we have seen.

The war having thrown open five ports to the intercourse of the world, it opened at the same time channels for the introduction of intelligence to the Chinese—of which they availed themselves. As there were now consular courts to which they had easy access, of course where one of the parties was an Englishman, they could not fail to draw unfavourable contrasts between the decisions in them and those given in their own courts; they could not fail to see that there was no respect of persons or purses; and they knew that, without having recourse to these, there was no justice to be had from their own.

The supreme court of Hong Kong had a powerful moral influence—as more than one case, to my own knowledge, was decided entirely in favour of Chinamen—when there might be a doubt as to which side decision should be given in favour of. All this tended to raise the character of our nation, if not of our

creed, in the eyes of this observant and thoughtful people.

Again, the facilities arising out of the increased trade, and their own enterprise, led them by tens of thousands to and from California, America, Singapore ; and these, besides coming in contact with Christianity—such as it was, in California, had copies of the Scriptures and tracts issued to them at Hong Kong ; and the class which proceeded there being rather an intelligent one, they could for the most part read, and did so to good effect ; for the captains of ships, who had taken them, often stated to the Bishop of Victoria that they felt themselves under considerable obligations for these books, as they seemed to have had a very decided effect in keeping their people quiet and orderly during the passage. It might have been the mere providing them with an occupation ; yet this can scarcely have been the only effect—they are seldom at a loss for one, as they are great gamblers. In either case, the reading the Scriptures could not have been without a moral effect.

And lastly came the influence of the missionaries. It cannot but be that the portions of Scripture, and tracts circulated, from Macao and up the coast, by Gutzlaff and others before the war, produced some effect ; but after the war, any such would be height-

ened by learning the power of the people from whom these had been received.

Yet these could not be expected to produce much or any permanent effect amongst such an eminently practical people as are the Chinese, unless the precepts and principles set forth were illustrated by living examples. This, no doubt, there might have been in an isolated case, but could not be extensively so, until the admission of the missionaries when the ports were opened.

Missionaries of all the Protestant denominations, English, American, Dutch, Swedish, German, were in the habit of itinerating through the villages in Hong Kong and islands near. On the main land opposite Hong Kong, and in the vicinity of Macao and Canton, many Chinese also visited (from great distances) the hospitals, and received instruction. The same was practised at Amoy, Shanghai, Ningpo, and Fochow; and in these places, no doubt, the practice in respect to the chapels, was pretty much the same as that at Amoy, where it used to be thrown open every day, and some one expounded to any people who chose to come. I have gone there several times, and have observed numbers coming and going, many apparently giving deep attention, and often asking questions. In this way a great number must have been partly in-

structed ; but in addition to this, there have been large numbers of boys educated ; and it must be observed, that very many of the insurgents are young, and might very well have been boys in the schools at Hong Kong, as some have stated they had been.

Several of the insurgent chiefs spoke of a personal knowledge of Lo-ho-sun, a medical missionary, and many of the soldiers stated that they had been in the schools at Hong Kong. Their scriptural knowledge also abundantly proves that they must have had, or many of them, Christian instructors ; nor does the tendency to mix up in their writings Chinese notions with Scripture truths militate against the above position, since we see how extensively, and often how injuriously, the practice of mixing truth and error obtains amongst ourselves : how difficult it is even after the acquirement of a rigorous habit of thought, to throw off early associations and erroneous impressions.

The Chinese government, not perceiving the tendency of Christianity, perceiving only that it was not inimical to good order and government, and rather begging the point that theirs was such, issued a proclamation sanctioning it, which, if it did not help to give it currency, removed much of the hostility that had been previously shown to those who circulated tracts, or those who received them. This was an amazing step,

an enormous accession of power, to the party advocating the introduction of, or at least the acknowledgment of, the power and truth of western ideas.

In issuing this proclamation they saw not the results that would necessarily flow from it. They saw not the incompatibility there was between the principles of Christianity and their whole government, or they would never have permitted its publication. This was probably the act of such men as Ke-in or Keshen. The imperial court never relaxed in its hostility to change, and was frightened at the leaning towards it which it discovered in the English prepossessions of these men.

I am perfectly satisfied that the systematic hostility shewn by the people at Canton to western nations and western ideas did not proceed from themselves. Though a vain people, who might have felt their vanity hurt by our manifest superiority, this feeling would never have carried them the lengths they went, if they had not been encouraged by their superiors.

It was an hostility originated and cultivated by the government for the support and better carrying out their exclusive and selfish policy.

They had long seen that their system was incompatible with change—that every form, every custom was stereotyped, which, like the laws of the Medes

and Persians, might not be changed ; and they saw that the introduction of western ideas necessitated change ; and change in their weak state meant revolution—so in proportion as the government became weak, it resisted all change from without, and yet change was the only thing that could save them.

The Chinese travel long distances in search of employment, and as certainly return to their native places when they have realized a little money ; bringing with them their new ideas. When the desire to return once seizes them, they make great sacrifices to carry this into effect. I have been astonished at the pertinacity with which they hold to their purpose, and the offers they have refused, rather than give up going.

This would account for the fact that the Tae-ping movement has met with friends throughout its progress through the country even up to Shang-tung, where the Protestant missionaries had only once been ; yet even there, there has been a taste established for works on geography and astronomy, which were published by the London and other missionary societies ; and for the Scriptures, which have been sent from Shanghae in answer to this demand ; and in these they would recognize the precepts and principles promulgated by Tae-ping.

No doubt the movement had in part a political as well as a religious origin ; the former principally from the "Triads," who took advantage of the discontents. That they were involved in it, is evident both from the Pekin Gazette and the insurgent proclamations.

There had been for nearly two hundred years, a society, which had been organized under the name of the Triad Society, for the purpose of overthrowing the Mantchoo dynasty, and establishing the Chinese dynasty of the Choo family in its stead.

This from its secret character, from the number of its adherents, its ramification through the Empire, and their known hostility to the reigning family, was always exceedingly obnoxious to the Government, and when any of its members were discovered, they were put to death with proportionate severity,—but their utmost efforts failed to extirpate the Society ; and the severity seemed but to exasperate them and consolidate their organization, which was used for mutual protection, and often for more questionable purposes than that of redressing wrongs.

Many of them, driven into exile, passed into Java, Singapore, California, and other states of America. These learnt, with other knowledge, something of their privileges as men, and watched and waited for the advent of some person or movement, that would give

them a hope of a return to their father-land, to which the Chinese are more than ordinarily attached.

Meanwhile, gathering strength from adversity, and acquiring knowledge and enlargement of mind, sometimes a knowledge, though perhaps limited, of Christianity, they were being prepared for the parts they were to play in the progress of their country towards a better state of things.

Some of them took advantage of opportunities afforded by the weakness of the Government, and its unpopularity, and the movement in Kwang-se, which at the time gave every promise of success, it being after the rebels had taken Nankin, and seized upon the cities of Amoy and Shanghae.

These, without having absolutely abandoned their idolatry, or without understanding anything of the principles of Christianity, had seized upon these cities, not directly to forward the Kwang-se movement, nor as yet having had any communication direct, or indirect, with the heads of it ; but they did so in order to make good terms for themselves, as they said ; and with this view sent emissaries to Nankin, to tender their allegiance to Tae-Ping. That they had no recognized connexion with the great movement, must be borne in mind, as much confusion of thought and of facts have arisen from not doing so ; but it must also be observed,

that they sat so loose to their old religious opinions, that they expressed themselves as using idolatry only from "old habit," and were willing to adopt the new religion published by Tae-Ping.

And there must have been much truth in this, for none could see the excessively degraded class their priests are, the neglect with which their services and their temples, for the most part, are treated, without being satisfied that idolatry had lost its hold of the affections of the people.

I visited a temple, which was magnificent in its dimensions, in the size and number of its idols, and the number of its priests, but which presented a melancholy spectacle ! one which would have originated melancholy feelings, but that I saw in it the decay of a huge deceit. The size and frightfully grim character of their idols, gave one the idea that they could have no conception but that of a supreme evil spirit, who had to be appeased, and then evil would be prevented ; but that all good must originate and be perfected by themselves.

It happened to be one of the hours for prayer, when there were a number of priests assembled in canonicals—long greyish gowns, yellow stockings, and with their heads shaved, they stood in rows on either side, a little advanced of the great image, half facing the

others ; at the sound of a drum they commenced in a slow and measured way to repeat together "ometo-feh, ometo-feh," the drum beating time meanwhile ; after continuing this for some minutes, the drum was beaten faster, they repeating faster, till at last it appeared as if they respectively endeavoured to repeat faster than the man could beat ; after continuing this for some time they stopped, then commenced a series of marchings and counter-marchings, bowings, and genuflexions, with other melancholy mummary.

I am not aware that they said anything more than "ometo-feh," but I am told that whatever they did say, was in Thibetian ; and that they do not understand what they say, since very few of them understand the language of any of their sacred books, which is the same ; they are equally ignorant and depraved.

There were but a few people present, and these seemed inclined to laugh, perhaps at the ludicrous appearance which these men presented while going through these performances.

The Government still countenances this as a state engine ; but however much they may endeavour to bolster it up, they cannot prevent an intelligent people like the Chinese from seeing the folly and inutility of idolatry, so soon as anything else is presented to them.

They are a practical people, and when once they see

the practical character of Christianity they will adopt its profession, and throw off their mummeries. This change is taking place ; many have told me that they did not take any part in them, or even visit their temples, and that they despised the priests : this is of course favorable to the success of the revolution ; and though there was no connection between the parties in revolt at Amoy and Shanghai and those at Nankin, yet their hostility to the Government exhausts its resources and multiplies its difficulties.

It appears to me that, though many causes contributed to its success, the main element in the movement was Christianity ; and as I have said before, to the Protestant missionaries of all denominations inclusively, is due the credit of having propagated the knowledge and feeling from which it sprang.

Even Gutzlaff's Chinese Union, though it was not satisfactory in all its members, or thorough in its teaching, deserves its praise.

There can be no question but that it is Gutzlaff's translation of the Bible that they have ; and it is more than probable that he circulated Bibles in Kwang-tong and in Kwang-se in 1848, in which province the rebellion commenced.

And the Anglo-Chinese papers stated from time to time, that members of the Chinese Union were amongst

the insurgents, and even that the movement had been originated by them. This was given the readier credence to, because Gutzlaff had stated that there would be a revolution soon, though indeed others to whom he had stated this, understood him to mean that it would have its origin in secular motives. It is equally true, however, that Gutzlaff often said when people questioned the utility of his Chinese Union, or the fact that the missionaries were making any progress, —“ Well, wait a little, and you will see the contrary.”

There is a remarkable passage in the letter which was written by the two insurgent generals or chiefs at Chiang-Kiang-foo, in answer to a letter of Sir George Bonham's.

“ We remember, moreover, how, on a former occasion, we, in conjunction with Bremer, Elliot, and Wanking, (?) in the province of Canton, erected a church, and together worshipped Jesus, our Celestial Elder Brother: all these circumstances are as fresh in our recollection as if they had happened but yesterday.”

This argues an early appreciation and acceptance of the truths of Christianity ; and though the allusions to Christianity in these earlier proclamations that reached us in China were asserted, very generally, to be mere extracts from Christian tracts, I was satisfied from the first that they were written by persons who

better understood, and more appreciated the scheme of Christianity, than do the people constituting the mass of Christendom.

Any Christian giving ordinary intelligence to the examination of these proclamations, and being uninfluenced by prejudice, would come to the same conclusion: for though they might have quoted from Christian tracts, unless they understood the subject, the weaving in of these extracts could not have been otherwise than incongruous, which it may be seen they are not; for though they contain error, it is not of such a kind.

I would not be understood to say that the Roman Catholic missionaries have not contributed towards the general result; because everything that tended to question the truth of their whole system—philosophical, social, and religious, had that effect: but their influence was small in proportion; as they conformed or allowed conformity to heathen practices in their worship. Hence, the previously existing state of things would have gone on to the end of the chapter, had not a new, a Protestant element been introduced.

Many of their missionaries compromised their position and creed, by the adoption of the dress, sometimes of a Buddhist Priest, sometimes that of a Chi-

nese Literati ; and the largest and most influential section, the Jesuits, permitted in their so-called convents the retention of many superstitious rites, in honour of Confucius and of their ancestors.

The Dominicans and Franciscans had protested ineffectually against many of these concessions. They must now lament, that they had not been more earnest for the truth. The conduct of the contending parties is another evidence, if any were wanting, that there is something wrong in the moral condition of man, that he should be less earnest for truth than for error. Nay, in that he even rejoices in error, and continues to do so till too late !

Huc and Gabet (I fancy of the Jesuit mission in China,) in their Travels in Thibet, speak of the extraordinary similarity they observed in the dresses of the Lamas, to those of the dignitaries of their own church ; so much are they so, and some of their ceremonies so much alike, that it would be difficult for any but the initiated to discern a difference, or not be persuaded, that if they be not the same, they must have had a common origin.

Du Halde said that in his time, Buddhism was considered the counterpart of Roman Catholicism. It was difficult then to distinguish between them in the Chinese mind.

After the dethronement of the last of the Ming Emperors, Young-tze—a grandson of the 13th of that dynasty, who was King of the capital of the province of Quey-chew, was proclaimed Emperor by the Viceroy of Kwang-se, and by the Generalissimo of the Chinese forces, who were both said to be Christians. For a time he held his court at Shau-king near Canton; but after four years of varied fortunes but ultimate failure, he retired into Kwang-se, then to Yun-nun, and finally to Pegu; upon which the Tartar Emperor sent troops, with a threatening letter to the King of Pegu, who gave him with his whole family up: whereupon he was carried to Shau-king near Canton and strangled. His Queen and his mother, however, were sent to Peking, and were treated with kindness; but they continued in the religion (Christian) which they had embraced. This was in 1624; and it is argued that they were Roman Catholics, and that if the Miou-tze were Christians, they must have been of that denomination: if so, they were so only traditionally, for they cease to be so now: the movement is essentially Protestant in its principles—that is, holding the Bible alone without tradition.

Another important element in the early success of this movement, was the fact of its raising in the vicinity of the mountains, occupied by the Miou-tze—a

race of independent mountaineers, who never submitted to the Tartar, nor indeed to any yoke, or adopted their badges of slavery, or any custom indicative of it. There must have been some principles and some influences more than ordinary amongst them, to have kept them thus separate, in the midst of a people who seem to have had more than ordinary power to permeate and pervade other races ; shewing them to possess an indestructibility of race like the Jew.

The ignorant always invent something strange but ridiculous, to account for what they do not understand ; and the settled policy of the court (to vilify all whom they cannot control) would account for the extravagant notions entertained of these simple mountaineers at Pekin. They call them wolf-men ; they were outlawed and no one allowed to intermarry with them, or even to buy from or sell to them.

Of their real position and character we have much to learn, and it may be of the most interesting, not to say important kind, for it may be that, like the Jews at Kae-fung-foo, they have a copy of the Old Testament scriptures, but have lost the knowledge of the character in which it is written ; or that they may be like the Christians found by Dr. Buchanan, who have really copies of the Scriptures ; as a Miou-tze informed us at Chiang-Kiang-foo—but only a very few, and be-

cause of having only a few, they were preserved with religious awe, and as a consequence, the people have only a general knowledge of their contents ; so that only such meagre portions of the truth as may have been embalmed in their customs and traditions is current amongst them, revolting them from idolatry like the Jew, and predisposing them so towards Christianity, that when it was presented to them they met it with acceptance.

If so, what a marvel is here as respects the moral government of the world—a train of causation carried forward, from the eighth or twelfth century, when the light spread by the Nestorian church was put out, and held latent, as it were, on the mountain-tops of this small spot in the far-west, ready to be lit up as a beacon-light on the advent of the first pure preacher of the Gospel—at the fulness of time—when China's day of visitation was fully come.

It is true, they may not have had any knowledge of Christianity, still their preservation apart thus for the purposes they were to carry out, was in itself marvellous.

They were shut up by a wretched and debauched government, and thus preserved as if to punish the authors of this cruelty, but in reality for higher purposes.

It may be asked how it was that the progress described was not discovered before the revolution ?

The policy of our Government and that of many of our merchants, created a feeling both on the part of the Chinese Government and their people at Canton, our chief point of contact with them, which effectually concealed the under-current that was certainly flowing towards western ideas, and western civilization, if no more. There is no doubt the Viceroy was satisfied that his plans, adopted to prevent the growth of such ideas, were completely successful, because they appeared to be so at Canton, and therefore he gave little heed at first to what was going on in Kwang-se, and thus it was allowed to grow up undisturbed.

Though the above statements are drawn from other authentic sources, the same picture is given in one of the insurgent publications.

It appears that throughout the empire, rapacious officers are worse than violent robbers, and corrupt mandarins of the public offices are no better than wolves and tigers, all originating in the vicious and sensual monarch at the head of affairs, who drives honest people to a distance, and admits to his presence the most worthless of mankind,—selling offices and disposing of preferments, while he represses men of virtuous talent ; so that the spirit of avarice is daily

inflamed, and high and low are contending together for gain ! The rich and great are abandoned to vice without control, whilst the poor and miserable have none to redress wrongs, the very recital of which exasperates one's feelings, and almost makes one's hair to stand on end.

To refer to the case of the land revenue in particular ; it appears that of late the exactions have been increased manifold, while the taxes due up to the thirtieth year of the last king's reign were at one time said to be remitted, and then again exacted, until the resources of the people are exhausted, and their miseries become excessive.

CHAPTER II.

HUNG SEW-TSEUEN—HIS EARLY ABILITY—HIS REJECTION—
HIS MEETING WITH THE SCRIPTURE READER—HIS SICK-
NESS—HIS PREACHING—HIS PERSECUTION—REFUSES
BAPTISM—CONSEQUENCES—REBELLION—ITS CHARACTER
—PROCLAMATION—SUCCESS—TARTAR EMPEROR'S PROPHE-
CYING—DISMISSES KI-YIN—TIEW-TIH—HIS CONFESSION
—FEARS OF THE IMPERIAL AUTHORITIES—EXHAUSTED
EXCHEQUER—PLANS TO REPLENISH IT—CAPTURE OF HAN-
KHOW BY INSURGENTS.

THERE were other influences at work, which date their commencement from a period anterior to that of the war with England; these gave a character to the movement, if they were not also the main element in its success, to be developed only when fitting circumstances to sustain them should have arrived. These are well described by a writer in the *Calcutta Review* :

“In the year 1833, a native scholar attended the literary examinations at Canton, from the district of Hwa, distant about twenty-five miles to the north-west

from the provincial capital itself. His name was Hung-sew-tseuen ; or as he is now more generally designated, Tae-ping-wang. He was at that time only sixteen years of age ; and his previous life had been entirely devoted to study.

“ He appears to have been a youth of extraordinary ability ; and in a country where literary distinction is still professedly the ordinary avenue to political greatness and civil honour, there was much in the circumstances of that literary struggle, which was calculated to animate the hopes and excite the ambition of the youthful aspirant to wealth and fame.

“ But it has been the degenerate policy of the present Tartar dynasty, to do violence to the prescriptive rights of the literate in their choice of public officers. Wealth or Tartar birth exalts many individuals to power, to the prejudice of native talent. Secret bribery also, not unfrequently, corrupts the decision of the literary examiners. The poor scholar, attended by his anxious family to the provincial capital, and intent amid the studies of many previous years, upon the prospective aggrandizement of his kindred, as the legitimate and natural result of literary success, beholds the prize snatched from his grasp by incompetent rivals ; and thus the only safety-valve for the ambition of native patriots, in the existence of a system of

literary promotion to office, is closed to a numerous and influential class of society.

“Hung-sew-tseuen appears to have suffered this humiliation. Stung with a sense of injustice, and feeling the full weight of disappointment, he found his knowledge of Confucian lore no longer the road to office and distinction. It was at such a critical season of the future hero's career, that the truths of the Holy Scriptures were presented to his notice, and the pure doctrines of Christianity arrested his mind. ‘At one of the examinations he met an extraordinary-looking man, with large sleeves and long beard, who gave him a book, entitled *Keuen-she-leang-yen*—‘Good Words exhorting the Age.’ In this book it was taught, that men ought truly to believe in God, in Jesus, obey the ten commandments, and not worship devils.’

“Thus wrote a kinsman of the insurgent chief, in a paper presented in the year 1852, to a missionary at Hongkong, respecting that momentous period, when a Chinese mind, destined in the Providence of God to influence the future history of his country, was first brought into contact with the divine philosophy of the Gospel.

“Respecting the identity of the old man alluded to, we are in possession of documentary evidence, which will convince every reasonable mind, that he was no

other than the venerable native preacher Leang Afa, the author, as well as the distributor, of the book in question. This work consists of nine volumes, of about fifty pages each; and although the whole has the general title, which has been already mentioned, each volume has also an independent title. We have no means of ascertaining whether he received the whole of the volumes, or only a single volume. The work consists of several original essays, as well as a copious collection of extracts from the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and the New Testaments. In their Annual Report for 1834, the Directors of the London Missionary Society notice the events which occurred in China, at the close of the year 1833, and quote the following extract of a letter from the late Dr. Morrison:—

“ The unremitted labours of Afa meet with a favourable reception from his countrymen. The Government of China patronizes education, and confers honours and office as the reward of literary merit. A general public examination is triennially held in each of the provincial cities of the Empire. At these seasons the students from the towns and villages of the province repair to their chief city, to compete for distinction and rewards. The population of the province of Canton is 19,000,000. An examination of candidates for literary honour was held at the provincial capital

in October, 1833. Leang Afa, and two of his companions, urged by the motives which the Gospel supplies, entered the city at this time, distributing portions of Scriptures and Tracts among the assembled multitudes of students who had come to the provincial capital, from towns and villages a hundred miles distant. In the most public manner Afa and two of his pupils presented them with religious books, which they received with great avidity; and many, after examining their contents, came back for more."

The other published letters and journals of that period, and especially the interesting description given by Afa himself, of those visits to the literary examination-halls, the persecution to which he was exposed, and his subsequent flight to Malacca, are brought to public light after twenty years of partial oblivion, and invest, with little short of moral certainty, the belief, that to Leang Afa, the convert of Milne, and the friend of Morrison, was reserved the distinction and privilege of being the first link in that chain of instrumental agencies, which connected the fortunes of Tae-ping-wang with a religious movement in favour of Christianity.

Let us return to the candidate for literary honours, and watch the moral effect of the new doctrines upon his mind. Burning with a sense of the foreign despot-

ism under which his country lay, and incensed at the dishonour done to the cause of ancient learning, a young Chinese, of noble and ardent aspirations, was likely to regard the exclusion of poor literati from the rewards of office as a direct violation of the traditional policy of the Empire, and an outrage upon that prescriptive system of equal Government, which forms in China the only approximation towards, and substitute for, constitutional freedom. The literary repute of our hero, and the extraordinary ability, which, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, he has since displayed, lend a strong probability to the written statement of his kinsman, that "Hung-sew-tseuen studied books from his early youth, was intelligent beyond description, and had read all kinds of books, when, at the age of fifteen or sixteen years, he went to the examination." The disappointment of his hopes of rising to distinction, and the diminished value in which the Confucian classics were likely afterwards to be held by the utilitarian mind of a Chinese scholar, may have been precisely that condition of the soul, under which he was likely to study, weigh and welcome the claims of the new religion upon his attention and belief. We know of his subsequent course, sufficient to prove that he embraced the new doctrines with an earnestness and ardour, not

often observable in the impassible temperament of a Chinese mind. He returned to his own native district near Canton, and gave his whole soul to meditation upon the new religion. A period of sickness followed, during which he saw visions and dreamed dreams—which, in an unhealthy condition of the body, and an over-active state of the brain, are to be accounted for on the ordinary principles of medical pathology, but which he and his followers construed into a new and special revelation of the Divine Will. “Afterwards, when sick, he had a vision, in which he received instructions, corresponding with those doctrines taught in the book, and, therefore, he immediately commenced speaking and acting according to the instructions of the book received, and made a stanza on repentance.”

“Then he was sick, his spirit went up to heaven.”

The probable year of these fancied revelations appears to be 1837, that is, about three or four years after his first receiving the book from Leang Afa. The chief himself, in his *Trimetrical Classic*, says, that in 1837 he was received up into heaven, when the affairs of heaven were clearly pointed out to him, and the great God instructed him in the true doctrine. So also in the proclamation by Yang and Seaou, the

Eastern and Western Kings, it is stated that in the year 1837 God sent an angel to take up the chief into heaven.

Thus far there is nothing in the career of Hung-sew-tseuen, inconsistent with the supposition and the hope that, whatever may have been his subsequent aberrations, and whatever may be the final development of his character, after all the strange vicissitudes of good and evil by which he has been agitated and tried—in the early stages at least of his personal history, he stands forth to our view a sincere, an earnest, and a consistent disciple of that heaven-derived faith, into the tenets of which he had obtained an imperfect insight. Up to this point, there is nothing in his views, statements and actions, for which a ready apology is not to be found in the peculiarly disadvantageous circumstances under which he prosecuted his enquiries into the Christian religion. We find the collateral evidence of his zeal, in his endeavouring to bring over his family, his friends, and his neighbours, to the new religion.

But “a prophet is not without honour, save in his own country and in his own house.” A few believed, others hesitated; a few desultory cases of iconoclastic zeal irritated the adherents of the old idolatry, and provoked persecution. A few of their number passed

into the adjacent province of Kwang-se, and itinerated as preachers of the new doctrine among the villages.

In a few years, more than two thousand persons had embraced Christianity, and many more appeared well-affected towards the Christians. The local magistrates, perceiving the good conduct of the converts, at first connived, but afterwards, as their number increased, persecuted and opposed the rising sect.

The native preachers were imprisoned, and two of their number, Wang and Loo (one of them apparently a brother of Hung-sew-tseuen himself,) were persecuted unto death. But they were punished as Christians, and not as rebels. Contemporaneously with these occurrences, serious disorders and tumults, from gangs of banditti and robbers, prevailed in the provinces of Kwang-se and Yunnan ; and this, doubtless, stimulated the fears and hatred of the authorities. According to a written statement of Hung-sew-tseuen's kinsman, confirmed by other incidental proof—"It was not the original design to raise a rebellion ; but from the encroachments and injuries inflicted by the officers and soldiers, to which we could not submit, there was no alternative left us." It was on one of these occasions, as we have learnt from another native source, that Hung-sew-tseuen himself, Fung-yun-san, now the "Southern King" (of whom we shall have

more to say hereafter,) with a third person, who afterwards died in prison, were engaged in preaching the Gospel in Kwang-se, and for this act of propagating new doctrines, were apprehended and imprisoned. After the death of one of the party ; the other two, whose names are given above, were sent back under a military escort to their native homes in Kwang-tung. In their journey they passed through a village, in which there were many converts. A rescue was attempted ; a collision ensued ; blood was shed ; the authorities were defeated ; and here a spark was suddenly kindled, which has raised the flame of civil war. There is some difficulty in reconciling the various dates, and the order of each occurrence, and in ascertaining the precise posture of matters, when the chief visited Canton and was brought into personal intercourse with a foreign missionary. It was about the end of 1847, when he arrived at Canton, and sought help and protection in behalf of his fellow-religionists in Kwang-se. The missionary with whom he became acquainted was the Rev. I. J. Roberts, an American Baptist. For about two months he was an inmate of Mr. Roberts' house, and received daily instruction. If it could have been foreseen how prominent a part this native inquirer was about to bear in the civil, moral, and religious emancipation of his

country, there would, doubtless, have been a more detailed record by the missionary of the views and character of the visitor. Mr. Roberts thus wrote of him in 1852 :—

“ When the chief (as we suppose him to have been) first came to us, he presented a paper written by himself, giving a minute account of his having received the book, *Good Words exhorting the Age*, of which his friend speaks in his narrative : of his having been taken sick, during which he imagined that he saw a vision, the details of which he gave, and which he said confirmed him in the belief of what he read in the book. In giving the account of his vision, he related some things, of which I confess I was at a loss, and still am, to know whence he got them, without a more extensive knowledge of the Scriptures. He requested to be baptized, but he left Kwang-se before we were fully satisfied of his fitness ; and what had become of him, I knew not until now.”

The following is the account referred to above, and that which was lately given by the friend and relative of Hung-sew-tseuen to a missionary at Hong Kong :—

“ Hung-sew-tseuen studied books from his early youth—was intelligent beyond comparison—and having read all kinds of books, he went to the examinations at fifteen or sixteen years of age. At one of the examina-

tions in Canton, he met an extraordinary-looking man, with large sleeves and long beard, who gave him a book, entitled—‘Huen sci Leong Quen, or Good Words exhorting the Age.’ In this book it was taught that men ought truly to believe in God, in Jesus, to obey the ten commandments, and not worship devils. Afterwards, when sick, he had a vision in which he received instructions corresponding with the doctrines taught in the book ; and, therefore, he immediately commenced speaking and acting, according to the instructions of the book received, and composed a stanza on repentance, containing the following sentiments :—

“ Confessing our transgressions against heaven
Our dependence upon the full atonement of Jesus
We should not believe in devils, but obey the holy com-
mandments,
Should worship only the true God, with the full powers of
the mind,
Should think on the glories of heaven :
Also on the terrors of hell, and pity the wicked,
And early turn to the true, escaping
From the errors and afflictions of the world.”

“ Again, he made another stanza, saying,—

“ Besides the God of heaven, there is really no God.
Why therefore do simpletons take the false to be true ?
Only by conscience do we perceive our lost state.
But how shall we come forth out of the common errors ?

"Then he travelled in Kwang-se province, and wrote several books, exhorting men to forsake the false and turn to the true religion. Some time after he received the religious book referred to above, he went to the Chapel at Canton, where he continued for several months committing the Scriptures to memory, and studying their doctrines: after which he went to Kwang-se and published them. It was not the original design to raise a rebellion; but the encroachments and injuries inflicted by the officers and soldiers, to which we could not submit, were such, that there was no alternative left us. The Chief wrote a few couplets at his leisure, and posted them upon the wall, the tenor of which was as follows:—

" Believe truly in Jesus, and ultimately have happiness ;
Turn away from God, and ultimately have misery."

" Another,—

" Keep the holy commandments, worship the true God, then
when the decapitator comes, heaven will be easily
ascended.

The common people, who believe in the devil, when they
come to lay down their heads, will find it difficult
to escape hell."

" It would be difficult to enumerate all the essays he wrote, and which he left at home."

There is reason for believing that Hung-sew-tseuen

" had taught, that true principles and fine literature did not exist amongst the people of the Middle Kingdom ; that all true knowledge was based upon Scripture, and that the thought of whence these had come to them, ought to keep them humble. That his countrymen should consider, that the God of heaven had created us all to be men, and that every one who is a man ought to know the saving doctrines of the Holy Scriptures." And that in coming to Canton, he had conceived the vast project of conciliating the sympathies of foreign Christians, and obtaining their influence and help in the liberation of their persecuted brethren in Kwang-se. He had been invited to Canton by a converted Chinese, in connexion with one of the missions ; had somewhat built upon the fact of Keying (the Viceroy of the Kwangs) having obtained imperial sanction for the profession of Christianity, even by a Chinese ; but finding, on his arrival, that Keying had been recalled to Peking, he is said to have wished to make application to the British Governor of Hong Kong, but was told that no British official would believe his account of the existence of a faithful body of fellow-Christians in the interior." He was, however, received into the house of Mr. Roberts, and lived at his table for two or three months, and doubtless profited by a fuller instruction in Christian truth.

His seeking baptism at this time, and expecting to be employed as a catechist, rather argues that he had none other than purely Christian projects in contemplation. He seems to have retained a lively and grateful recollection of this period ; and Mr. Roberts has received a letter, purporting to be from him, since his arrival in Nankin, thanking him for his kindness, and assuring him that when he attains to the Empire, he will circulate the Scriptures, and put down opium-smoking.

The northern prince, and Lae, one of the other high officers, also spoke of Lo-ho-sun, as the good man who treated the people medically, gratis ; the latter said that he knew him personally. Lo-ho-sun is the Chinese name which Mr. Roberts bears.

Fun-yun-san, who was taken prisoner with Hung-sew-tseuen, and who is now titularly known as the southern King, belonged to the same or the adjoining village with him, in the Hwa-hien district, and was baptized by him at a very early period. He itinerated with him in Kwang-se, and continued to do so up to the commencement of the revolution, except for a short period, during which he is said to have paid a visit to Dr. Gutzlaff ; he appears to have made more converts than Hung-sew-tseuen, and was certainly the first leader of the section that afterwards adopted

Hung-sew-tseuen as their leader ; for there were three parties recognized by the imperial authorities,—this, and a second, headed by “Luig-shih-pah,” of whom the local authorities report, that “he joined, in 1849, the Protestant sect at Kin-teen, in Kwang-se ; and coming frequently to Sai-i, the district magistrate of that city discovered his proselyting ways, and ordered his house to be burnt, but the culprit managed to escape.” In 1851, he is again alluded to as having “a large number of followers, with whom he captured Walling, on the borders of Kwang-se and Canton ;” in reference to him orders were sent, that “The notorious Luig-sháh-pah, of the religious banditti, should not be suffered to effect a union with the equally guilty Hung-sew-tseuen.” And a third, who were probably Triads, and who may have proclaimed Tien-teh, if there was any such person, but who, there is reason to believe, eventually joined Hung-sew-tseuen’s party—these were all driven to make common cause, and to seek mutual protection from oppression and unjust exactions.

The impression at Canton, even later than 1850, amongst the best informed, was, that it was only a tax-riot, that would soon be put down. Little is known of particulars previous to that date, but it is abundantly evident from several sources, and amongst others, the

alleged confession of Tien-teh, that Fun-yun-san, who is called the "inventor of a story about a Heavenly Father," and afterwards Hung-sew-tseuen, were employed in organizing the movement, and in impressing upon it a Christian character, as far as they knew how; which it appears, from the same source, that they effected as early as 1850, at which time the latter was proclaimed Emperor by his followers, with the title of T'hae-ping-wang. It may have been that the death of the Tartar Emperor, Tao-Kwang, which took place at the commencement of this year, suggested this period as a fitting time to set up their claimant for the throne.

At first, and while their objects were simply religious, they were content with the simple designation of "*Shangte-hwin*," "the Society of God!" but when they had determined upon the expulsion of the hated Mantchoo tyrants, the subversion of the idolatrous system, and the incorporation of the whole nation into one empire of "Universal Peace," they adopted the style of "*Tae-ping-teen-kwoh*," the Celestial Kingdom of Universal Peace.

Marvellous are the providences which seem to have marked this man's career.

Had he obtained his second literary degree, he

might have lived and died unheard of beyond his own circle, a miserable Chinese functionary.

Had he accepted baptism, he might have been employed as a native catechist, and because not appreciated, have produced little or no results.

Had he been taken to the governor of Hong Kong, he would have been a three days' wonder; his life would have been wasted in expectations never to be realized.

On the other hand, had he been better instructed in the truths and practice of Christianity, he in all probability would not have been a reformer of the kind necessary for China; reformation in morals and religion, so to speak—would not have been possible, unless a reformation in the State had first taken place. Time certainly, and who shall say how long, judging from former experience in the world, must have entered more largely as an element in the change.

Each or all these were turning-points, not in his history only, but in that of all China at least: the religion of Islam did not appear to turn more truly upon the flight of a little bird, than does the religion and happiness of China upon the rejection of the youthful Hung-sew-tseuen.

Refusing baptism, except upon the condition of being employed—and having no other means of sub-

sistence—he left Mr. Roberts and passed to Kwang-se : to which place all the Christians seem eventually to have retired, as the only place of safety, now that Christianity had been proscribed : “ their meetings for the worship of Yèsu having been prohibited as meetings for the propagation of corrupt doctrine.”

This distrust would naturally suggest itself to them, as there it was that there were the greatest number of worshippers of Yèsu, under a common ban, and bound together with a common tie, and seeking, together with life and light, liberty of conscience. There also and in the adjacent districts of Que-chew and Yunnun there were people of Miou-tze and Chinese descent who had retained their independence, rejecting alike the jurisdiction of the Tartars and their customs.

Those of them of Miou-tze descent never adopted the prevailing idolatry or threw it off at some early period, and retained their independence even in the time of the Chinese dynasty of the Mings; but their hostility to the Tartars seems to have been more intense, owing to the severer restrictions they were subjected to by them.

The question may well suggest itself, Why was it that they did not adopt the current idolatry ? Was it that they possessed some knowledge of a purer faith amongst them, or a tradition that their ancestors had?

Under any circumstances they would be more likely to adopt one ; they would have more points of agreement with those who threw off idolatry and professed a pure faith ; they would hail these as their deliverers from the persecution they were subject to, and would readily make common cause against the Mantchoos.

Their earlier movements seem to have been dictated by a desire to collect their scattered adherents from the fastnesses of the adjoining districts, and to levy funds for the prosecution of their designs in this ; and indeed in everything they seem from the first to have shewn wisdom, moderation, and courage ; and, as a consequence, their successes were uniform.

From the first we learn from "the confessions," that their organization was novel and characteristic—that they had a common fund, a common table, and a common object ; which, were it but political liberty, was almost the highest ; as, without it, religious liberty was not possible.

These successes were of such a character as to impress Siu, the viceroy of this and the adjoining Kwang, with the belief that there was some principle new to Chinese history actuating them ; and the reluctance shown by officials and soldiers to be sent against the revoltors, argues that this feeling had extended itself to them. Siu thence arguing difficulties his cunning

could not surmount, seized the opportunity afforded by the death of Tao Kwang to request to be allowed to retire from his Government for the purpose of prostrating himself at his tomb.

The ministers, of whom Ki-yin, the former Viceroy of the two Kwangs, was one, well knowing that a position of such honour and emolument would not be given up on any light grounds, could only see in this too true a confirmation of their fears, and therefore ordered Siu to remain in his government.

The insurgents' successes continuing, and their character becoming more fully known to Siu, he deemed the information sufficiently important to warrant his leaving for Peking, more effectually to inform the Emperor of the danger.

It was, no doubt, for reasons having reference to its new and foreign character that Lin, celebrated for his anti-European tendencies, was chosen by the Emperor to quell this revolt.

Lin still less understood the character of the movement, or the principles of its leaders, than did Siu; and his measures added fuel to the fire.

The insurgents issued a manifesto in answer to his summonses to surrender, which must have confounded him; for, worn out by infirmities and disappointment, he did not long survive.

But Siu did not thus easily escape ; he was ordered back to assist in restoring order.

The manifesto is a remarkable and very creditable production.

They therein claim the Empire, not as an hereditary right of a family, but upon the fact that they were Chinese, to whom of right it belonged, and in virtue of possession ; which they evidently meant to conquer. While they boldly avow that they are levying war, they appeal to the prejudice and patriotism of their country by rightly designating the Mantchoos foreigners !

“ The Mantchoos who, for two centuries, have been in hereditary possession of the throne of China, are descended from an insignificant nation of foreigners. By means of an army of veteran soldiers well trained to warfare, they seized on our treasures, our lands, and the government of our country, thereby proving that the only thing requisite for usurping empire is the fact of being the strongest. There is, therefore, no difference between ourselves, who lay contributions on the villages we take, and the agents sent from Peking to collect the taxes. Why then, without any motive, are troops despatched against us ? Such a proceeding strikes us as a very unjust one. What ! is it possible that the Mantchoos, who are foreigners, have

a right to receive the taxes of the captured provinces, and to name officers who oppress the people, while we Chinese are prohibited from taking a trifling amount at the public cost? Universal sovereignty does not belong to any one particular individual, to the exclusion of all the rest. And such a thing has never been known, as one dynasty being able to trace a line of a hundred generations of Emperors.

“ The right to govern consists in possession.”

The young Emperor had early given himself up to dissipation, and had scandalized the feelings of his subjects by marrying within the prescribed time of mourning for a father, and had even, it was said, taken his sister to wife, when it is contrary to law in China to marry a person even of the same name. Giving up all care of the state, he abandoned himself to all kinds of profligacy.

Aroused from this by the death of his favourite Lin, who scarcely arrived at his post, and never survived the disgrace of the insurgent manifesto ; or by the reproaches of the Board of Censors, who attributed the evils of the state as a just judgment of Heaven—for they believe in an over-ruling Providence—for his vices ; or more certainly, on being apprized that the insurgents professed Christianity ; and the memorial already quoted, informed him that the movement had

its origin with Europeans, — he issued an imperial edict dismissing from his services and degrading the two most enlightened statesmen in his dominions, Ki-yin (he who signed the treaty of peace with Sir Henry Pottinger), and Mou-tchang-ha, his first minister, in the following terms, which fully justify the conclusion come to, viz. that he thought the insurrection to be of English origin.

“ Mou-tchang-ha, when the vessel of the barbarian English (H.M.S. Reynard, Capt. Cracroft) arrived at Tien-tsin, came to an understanding with his confidant Ki-yin, in order to bring about the triumph of his policy, and to expose the population of the empire to a repetition of former calamities.”

“ When the minister Pan-che-gan advised us strongly to employ Lin, Mou-tchang-ha never ceased to impress upon us that Lin’s weakness and infirmities rendered him unfit to hold any kind of office ; and when we ourselves commanded Lin to proceed to Kwang-se, for the purpose of exterminating the rebels, Mou-tchang-ha called in question the fitness of Lin for the mission.

“ As to Ki-yin, his anti-patriotic tendencies, his cowardice, and his incapacity, are beyond all powers of description. During his stay at Canton, he did nothing but oppress the people, in order to please the barbarians, to the great injury of the state. Was this

not clearly proved in the discussion relative to the entry of the Europeans into the official city? *

"Very often, in the course of the present year, when he was summoned to our presence, Ki-yin has spoken of the English barbarians, asserting how greatly they are to be *feared*, and *how important it would be to come to an understanding with them, should any troubles arise.*"

There can be little doubt but that they had anticipated the possibility of our sympathy with the oppressed Christians of Kwang-se, and that these two great statesmen had thus early seen the danger of driving the insurgents to extremes.

Mou-tchang-ha was degraded and declared incapable of again holding any public office.

Ki-yin was reduced to the fifth rank.

Early in 1851, we heard rumours of increased disturbances in Kwang-se, together with reported sieges, battles, captures of towns, military and commissariat stores, and increased anxiety on the part of the Imperial authorities. But how much of these are to be relied on is difficult to ascertain : much of that which

* We obtained the right of entering Canton by the treaty of peace three or five years after the time of signing. Ki-yin signed this treaty, and no doubt argued for faith being kept with us. We ought to have insisted on its being kept.

appeared in the Pekin Gazette being the reports of Generals and other officials who had failed, and were endeavouring to cover their discomfiture from the court, and thus is more than apocryphal.

Thus much, however, is discoverable, that the insurgent successes continued, and that in due time the degradation of Tartar officials followed; and though degraded, they were ordered to continue in subordinate offices to retrieve their characters.

Amongst other reports sometimes current at Canton, was, that the insurgents had discovered a descendant of the Chinese dynasty of the Mings, in a monastery; that they only waited for more decided success to bring him forward and proclaim him; and it was said that, about this time, he was proclaimed Emperor, with the title of Tien-teh, or *Celestial virtue*, and that his first act was to set a price on the head of Siu, the Viceroy of the two Kwangs.

I think the manifesto already given, together with their subsequent proclamations, and denial that such a person had been recognized by them, are sufficient to establish that if any such had been proclaimed, he was so only by members of the Triad Society, who like those at Amoy had no connection originally with the movement; and only took advantage of it to put up their pretender, with a view perhaps to making

better terms for themselves. Those at Amoy issued proclamations in the name of Tien-teh in 1853, long after he was both politically and actually dead, if he sent to Peking were the true Tien-teh.

It would have been quite incompatible with the scheme the insurgents evidently had in adopting the style—"The *Celestial Kingdom of Universal Peace*," to have had an Emperor at its head, who was only a descendant of the Mings, and not a believer in the true God ; and the confession states that Hung-sew-tseuen was styled Tae-ping as early as 1850, and further that Tien-teh called him elder brother—which is an admission of his superiority, though it is a very improbable style for the Tae-ping to allow, as our Lord is always styled by him "The elder brother."

This receives confirmation from the expression of the T'hae-pings, doubtless in reference to the proclamation of Tien-teh by the Triads:—"I have often heard it said, that their object is to subvert the Tsing, and restore the Ming dynasty.—Such an expression was very proper in the time of Khang-hi, when this society was first formed ; but, now after the lapse of two hundred years, we may still speak of subverting the Tsing— but, we cannot properly speak of restoring the Ming."

Siu, the Viceroy of the two Kwangs, had offered a

very large sum of money for the head of Tien-teh, and this had resulted in their capturing an adherent or petty chief, whom he had placed in an iron cage and sent to Peking as Tien-teh. Of course he was adjudged worthy of death ; but was tortured to obtain a true confession, according to Chinese custom, and that which they made him say was as follows :—

“ I am a native Hang-chau, of the province of Hang-cheon, and am thirty years old. My father and mother are dead, and I have neither brothers, sisters, wife, nor children. From my youth upwards, I devoted myself to literature, and underwent several examinations ; but as the examiners would not allow that I possessed any talent for composition, and thus paralyzed my efforts, I turned bonze. Some time afterwards, I quitted the condition of a bonze, in order to undergo another examination ; but I was refused as before. This swelled my heart with resentment, and I entered upon a careful study of works relating to the military art, as well as of the topography of the different provinces, in order to become skilled in warfare, and thus overthrow the Imperial Government. During the time that I was a bonze, I lived a life of solitude and silence, endeavouring to make myself acquainted with the rules of all the systems of strategy that had been in use from the most

remote periods up to the present day. I thought that, by this means, I should be enabled speedily to execute my projects, and seize as easily upon the empire as I could turn my hand.

“While I was still a bonze, a few years since, I happened to be travelling in Kwang-toung, when, passing through Hona, I made the acquaintance of Houg-seu-tsieuen and Foug-yun-chan, both literary men of great talent, but, like myself, unfortunate in their examinations. They had travelled through the two provinces of Kouang, and formed alliances with the most determined individuals of the Society of the Three Principles (the Triads). Each person belonging to it took an oath to live and die with them, and assist them to the utmost of his power. The number of adepts increased rapidly, and fears then arose of their disagreeing among themselves. On this, Houg-seu-tsieuen learned how to practise magic and speak with devils, and Foug-yun-chan *invented a history about* ‘a celestial Father, a celestial Brother, and Jesus, relating in what manner the celestial Brother came down from heaven, and that all those who wished to serve the celestial Father would learn in what their greatest advantage consisted; that before his death, he only occupied a small palace in heaven; but that, on his being put to death by man, he is seated in a great

palace in heaven.' With such inflammatory words did they bind the members of the association to themselves so closely that no one ever quits them.

"In December, 1850, when their number and power had become great, I went to Kwang-se, where I saw Houg-seu-tsieuen ; he had engaged many graduates of Kwang-toung to commence a system of pillage, and attack the Government. The members of the brotherhood followed these individuals very willingly, delivering up to them their persons, their families, their property, and, in a word, all they possessed ; so that there was sufficient money to purchase horses and enrol troops. From this period their hopes of success increased, and they assumed the name of the Society of the Chang-Ti. (Shang-te ?—*Great-God.*)

"On my arrival at Kouang-se, Houg-seu-tsieuen called me his worldly brother, bestowing on me the title of King Tien-tih, and taking from me lessons in the art of war. He called himself King Tai-ping (grand pacificator.) Yang was commander-in-chief with civil authority, and assumed the title of King of the East ; Seaou was lieutenant-general of the right wing, with the title of King of the West ; Houg was general of the advanced guard, with the title of King of the South ; and Wei was general of the reserve, with the title of King of the North.

" They created ministers as well. Thus Che was appointed minister of civil affairs, and King of the right wing ; Tsin was appointed to the ministry of finance, and made King of the left wing ; Ou-laï and Tsang were generals of the guard ; Tchew was named judge ; and Tsang, Yu-sin, and Lo, were lieutenant-generals. There were a great many other officers, whose names I forget. Some of them had command of three hundred men, and some of a hundred. Every individual who turned his back upon an enemy in an action was executed, and his officer severely punished ; while rewards and advancement were given to those who gained the victory. The Government troops killed great numbers of our men. I called Houg-seu-tsieuen my elder brother, and our inferiors addressed us both by the title of your majesty ; but we ourselves called each of the others by his proper name.

" On the 27th of August, 1851, we took Young-gan, after having put the Imperial troops to flight. Houg and myself made our entry in palanquins, and forthwith installed ourselves in the official residence called the Court, where no one was allowed to reside. Houg-seu-tsieuen received from me all the knowledge of strategy which he possesses ; but we did not always agree in our views. I looked upon the place we had taken as too insignificant, and often inquired of him

why he gave the title of king to so many persons. Besides this, he placed great confidence in the practice of magic ; although, even in former times, no one ever attained the throne by this means. He was, moreover, addicted to wine and debauchery, having with him thirty-six women. I longed, from the bottom of my heart, to hear of his defeat and death ; as, but for him, I should have succeeded in seizing the reins of power.

“ At this period, Wei-tching commanded in our engagements with the troops ; and in this he was skilful and indefatigable. He was very courageous, and with a thousand men, used easily to overcome ten thousand Imperialists. During the few months that we occupied Young-gan-tcheou, which we designated our Court, all our officers sent us in reports on the affairs of the State. A calendar was published, under Houngh's direction ; but there was no mention made of the intercalary moon ; in this, however, I had no share.

“ When the town was blockaded, and our powder and ammunition began to fail, the idea struck us that as the members of our association were very numerous in Kouang-touang and the province of Que-cheu, we should take courage and attempt to leave our prison, in order to go and join them. On the 7th of April, we arranged the plan of a sally, and divided our forces

into three bands. About the eighth hour of the evening, Wei-tching sallied out with six thousand men, while Yang and Fong left at the tenth hour with six thousand men, taking with them Houg-seu-tsieuen and his wives, together with palanquins, horses, and baggage. About the second hour of the morning, Seaou and myself sallied out with fifteen hundred men. Falling in with us at the distance of about three hundred miles from Houg-seu-tsieuen's columns, the Imperial troops attacked us, and as, on account of Seaou's not following my orders nor signals, we were put to flight, more than a thousand men were killed, and I myself made prisoner. It was I who ordered those in the eastern fort to fire, when we left the town, and who also caused the houses to be set on fire in order to facilitate our *sortie*.

"Houg is not my true name, but I have assumed it ever since I contracted a friendship with Houg-seu-tseuen. I used to wear embroidered clothes and a raised yellow hat: the four kings had similar hats bordered with red. The other great officers wore yellow embroidered aprons when they went into action, and carried yellow flags. In the official palace, I used to wear a yellow robe, but it was not of my own choice that I placed myself upon the Imperial throne.

“ This confession is true.”

This is a very remarkable document—as showing the impression the imperialists had received thus early of the powers of the insurgents, of their rigid adherence to their principles—as to their uniform success, and of the fact that they acknowledged the existence of a principle which they did not understand, but which they attributed to magic.

It also shows that thus as early as 1850 the insurgents had attained to the organization which we found them to possess at Nankin, and that they had a common fund from which all were supplied : which last suggests the question, Whence was it, if not from the New Testament, in accordance with the early New Testament Church—that they should have had “ all things in common ?

Again he says (speaking of the bond of union which existed among them), “ With such inflammatory words did they bind the members of the association to themselves so closely, that no one ever quits them,” which principle was none other than that of Christianity.

This opinion may remind us of the answer made by Apollo when applied to by a person to know how he should cause his wife to relinquish Christianity : “ It is easier perhaps,” replied the orator, “ to write upon water, or to fly into the air, than to reclaim her.”

Had he understood the principle which existed amongst them, could he have said that it proceeded from Hung-sew-tseuen's knowledge of magic? Very little weight can be attached to the charges of the alleged Tien-teh against Hung-sew-tseuen as being addicted to debauchery, and as having thirty-six wives, since he acknowledges to such feelings as, "I longed from the bottom of my heart, to hear of his defeat and death! as, but for him, I should have succeeded in seizing the reins of power." This vice is so completely the besetting sin of China, that any assertion of the kind would find ready credence, and therefore such a charge would readily suggest itself to them. And his saying that but for Hung-sew-tseuen he would have been chief, seems to justify the suspicion that he was not the chief, though perhaps a chief.

But is it not evident that if not a fabrication, it is not the confession of one that had been the head of the Kwang-se movement and had been declared Emperor? Could any leader of theirs be so ignorant of the amount of Christianity which was known amongst them, as he shows himself to have been? Could their leader have believed that Fun-yun-san had *invented* a history about a celestial Father, a celestial Brother and Jesus, when, had he been amongst them, he must have known that they had the Scriptures which they

had received from foreigners ? the very books would have shewed whence they came.

Compare the knowledge of Christianity shown in the following proclamation by two of his alleged subordinates, with the total absence of it shewn in the confession, and the mention there of the *Old Testament*, which shows their knowledge of the existence of the *New*.

“ Yang, entitled the Eastern King and General-in-chief with Seaou, entitled the Western King, also General-in-chief of Tae-ping, by Divine appointment Emperor of Theen-kwo, the celestial dynasty, unitedly issue this proclamation, to announce that they received the commands of heaven to slaughter the imperialists and save the people. According to the *Old Testament*, the Great God (Shang-te), our heavenly Father, in six days created the heavens and earth, the land and sea, men and things. The Great God is a Spiritual Father, a Ghostly Father, omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent ; all nations under heaven are acquainted with His great power. In tracing up the records of bygone ages we find that since the time of the creation of the world, the Great God has frequently manifested His displeasure, and how can it be that you people of the world are still ignorant of it ? ”

The confession establishes that Tien-teh was not

Fun-yun-san, as is supposed by a writer in the Calcutta Review, for the imperialists were too well acquainted with the persons of these leaders to make a mistake in their identity ; and if they could have obtained belief for their story of the capture of Tien-teh, it would have served their purpose much better to have shown that Fun-yun-san (from the prominent part he played) even by the story of the confession, had been identified as being the Tien-teh ; this, however, would not have obtained credence in the locality : for it was notorious, that Fun-yun-san was not a descendant of the Mings. I believe the story to have been one invented for the deception of the court, and that an ignorant insurgent was the man captured.

This document brings us down to April, 1852, and acknowledges on imperial authority, that the insurgents had made considerable progress ; and yet the Pekin Gazette never acknowledged the whole truth, it being adverse to imperial interests.

Still little was known by Europeans, and less believed ; few believing it to be more than a serious local disturbance, the result of the cupidity and injustice of the Mandarins. That there was any Christian element in it further than might have been imported into it by a member of Gutzlaff's union, was utterly

denied by nearly all, and certainly by those who it was thought ought to know.

But the Hongkong Register continuing to give such specific accounts of their progress, and these being in their main particulars confirmed subsequently by the Pekin Gazette, and the anxiety of the Imperial Government evidently increasing, as was markedly shewn by their orders to subordinate governors, "not on any account to permit any thing that would be likely to create any disturbance of the friendly relations existing between them and foreign governments," matters began to assume a very different aspect in the estimation of most. Still there were those who said, "Yes, they are making progress, and it may continue while they have only Chinese troops to contend with; but the Tartars will very easily turn the tide."

The Pekin Gazette continued to give, together with some truth, the increase to the catalogue of imperial successes and insurgent reverses, that so long and so much deceived the Emperor and misled the greater number of foreign residents in China.

The insurgents advanced in the province of Hoo-nan, and made preparation for new and more extended conquests. In the language of a subsequent imperial production, "Hoo-nan has been trodden in dust and

ashes ; more recently the spirit of rebellion has burst into a flame."

The Emperor being convinced perhaps by this time that though the movement may have had an origin in western ideas, still, as the western nations manifested no sympathy with it, Ki-yin and the other ministers who were suspected of European leanings, and dismissed because of them, might not in reality be guilty—they were recalled, but without any further success.

The imperial exchequer was exhausted, and the Minister of Finance failed to obtain any funds from the respective provinces, while the expenses of the war were for the year £3,000,000 sterling,—not much it might be supposed for a nation of fabulous wealth, but which the Tartar government had no access to, not so much because there was no patriotism amongst the people, as because the government was not popular. This fact seems fully established by a clause in one of the imperial proclamations : "If the district officers under the pretence of collecting patriotic contributions, send out their subordinates on all hands, to extort money, and the police from this cause act like traitors, how can we then protect good and peaceable people, or encourage their offerings ?" The Emperor commanded the high officers to devise a scheme for supplying the deficiency, which was as fol-

laws, and was at once adopted and set forth in the Pekin Gazette.

This scheme, as it did violence to the long-established customs of the empire, was unpopular and impolitic, and proportionably manifested the weakness of the government, and its utter inability to meet the crisis.

“ 1. The princes, nobles, and high dignitaries, both civil and military, of the empire, will all be called upon to contribute sums proportioned to their respective means.

“ 2. The members of the Imperial family will be authorized to buy public posts.

“ 3. The academicians and the censors will be allowed to purchase judgeships, treasurerships, and provincial intendantships.

“ 4. Any one holding an office will, on paying a sum of money, be declared exempt from serving the time during which he would, in the regular course of things, be called upon to fulfil the duties of such office.

“ 5. The intendants of districts and the prefects will, on paying a sum of money, be declared exempt from the obligation they are under, according to the present regulations, of returning to Pekin at the expiration of their period of office.

“ 6. The secretaries of the cabinet will, on paying a sum of money, be declared exempt from the five years which, by the existing regulations, they are required to serve before they can obtain promotion.

“ 7. All the functionaries of the capital who, after having undergone their first-class examination, are waiting for a post, will be allowed to purchase one.

“ 8. Every functionary, during his absence, whether from illness, mourning, or from having leave of absence, will be allowed, during the time he may be absent, to purchase honorary titles for a relation.

“ 9. A son will be allowed to buy for his father a rank superior to his own, which, according to the former regulations, he was not permitted to do.

“ 10. Functionaries who have been dismissed will be allowed to buy their grade again on the payment of a sum of money.

“ 11. Functionaries who have retired from service will be allowed to purchase their grade again on the payment of a sum of money.

“ 12. Functionaries will be allowed to purchase titles for their near maternal relations.

“ 13. All who have the rank of Kiu-jen, Konang-souen, and Kiên-souen, will be allowed to purchase their admission to the National College of Peking.

“ 14. The peacock's feathers may be purchased.

" 15. All mandarins of the first or second rank, who have been degraded, will be allowed to purchase their buttons again for a certain sum.

" 16. All functionaries condemned to exile, or to any kind of punishment, will be allowed to purchase their freedom.

" 17. All functionaries transported for any crime to the I-li, will be allowed to purchase their freedom.

" 18. Government will regard as loans to itself all recompenses of money given by private individuals to the troops, and bills will also be drawn upon the commercial community for a time.

" 19. The gold deposited in the Neï-ou-fou will be sent to the army as a reserve fund.

" 20. Government will issue paper-money, as it did in the time of the troubles caused by the Barbarians (the English), on the coasts of the Yang-tsze-keang.

" 21. Three months will be allowed for the collection of the taxes in arrear.

" 22. Exchange offices will be established for the account of the government.

" 23. The privilege of farming the gold and silver mines in the Je-hol, in the provinces, in oriental Turkestan, and the I-li, will be put up to public competition !"

The insurgents, meanwhile, by their moderation and

justice, and by extending protection to all who did not oppose them,—by not allowing their followers or others to commit any crimes or other irregularities, the too general accompaniments of war, even in civilized countries,—had won for themselves, in a very large degree, the confidence of the people. It matters not immediately to consider whether this proceeded from policy or principle, it disarmed the hostility of many. Their numbers and their moral power increased together, while those of the imperialists were as constantly on the decrease, owing to their exaction, their cruelty, and their cowardice.

We know that the authorities at Canton were taking heads off by forties and sixties a-day, and the Viceroy admitted that he had taken three hundred off on one day. I visited the execution-ground, and saw pools of blood from recent executions, and the heads were piled up in old bottle-racks: it was in a low, dirty, but populous thoroughfare in the suburbs, where children were playing about. If these were the numbers for two or three provinces, what must those have been for the other provinces in addition? and yet, as the march of the insurgents was so triumphant, these all could not possibly be the heads of insurgents, or even people remotely connected with the movement. It is much more probable that they were the heads of help-

less and unoffending people, that were taken off to satisfy the Emperor that Siu, the Viceroy, was making some progress against the insurgents.

After leaving Changsha, the capital of Hoonan, which they did on the 30th of November, 1852, the insurgents pushed on for the Tung-ting lake, probably mostly by water: reaching the lake, they crossed it and took Yo-chow-foo, where Siu had retreated after being beaten. Siu abandoned the city on their approach, without fighting, and for which he was deprived of his Viceroyalty, and of his peacock's feather with two eyes. It is said, unable to survive his disgrace, more probably assured that next he would lose his head, he committed suicide. They then entered the Yang-tze-Keang, and descended it in hundreds of junks, to Han-yang, which, having captured, they passed on to Woo-chang, the capital of Hoopih; this also fell into their hands, after a very feeble resistance.

These two cities, and a third, situated at either side of the entrance of the Han, into the Yang-tze-Keang, are called Han-Khow,—the emporium of China. Each of these cities is said to contain as numerous a population as London; they are about six hundred miles from the sea, and no doubt vessels of a very considerable size could navigate the whole way.

As they passed along, still pressing towards Nankin,

various places of importance, on either side of the river, fell into their hands ; and deputations from various cities were sent to them with subsidies, accompanied by requests that they would not permit their followers to enter their cities, all which requests seem to have been complied with.

These disasters were followed by the degradation of all who were in any manner connected with them. Keshen was deprived of his rank of Lieutenant General of Bannumen ; Sae-shang-ah was sentenced to be decapitated ; and Luh-kien-ying was deprived of all official rank. Siu being dead, his son, together with those of Sae and Luh, were degraded ; the property also of these, both that which was found in their official residences, and their family estates, were confiscated to the government.

CHAPTER III.

PROPOSED ATTACK UPON NANKIN—INSURGENTS' PROCLAMATION—PROPOSITION OF THE IMPERIALISTS—COWARDICE OF THE IMPERIALISTS—APPLICATION FOR EUROPEAN ASSISTANCE—AMERICAN MINISTER—AMERICAN SHIP CHARTERED—REPORTED FALL OF NANKIN—ITS ACTUAL FALL—APPREHENSIONS AT SHANGHAE—DETERMINATION OF SIR GEORGE BONHAM TO VISIT NANKIN.

FROM the meagreness of the data, and the inconceivable character of some portions, it is impossible to follow the movements closely ; much being irreconcilable, except upon the supposition, either that they moved in several distinct bodies, or that they covered a greater extent of ground. The first is probable ; and this may have been dictated, 1st, by a desire to lay a large number of cities and a larger extent of territory under contribution, for the expenses of the war, than they could otherwise have done : and, 2nd, the difficulty they would have felt in providing food for so great a mass, had it been moved along a narrow breadth of territory.

Their policy must have been sufficiently marked ; for the Government was enabled to give instructions so specific, and so well calculated to obstruct the insurgents in their course, that they must have been overthrown, but for the cowardice and incapacity of their opponents (if they can be said to have had any in the strict sense of the word), and but for their own energy and judgment.

The results, however, from time to time, were manifested in the assurances that were received of their gradual progress towards Nankin.

Contemplating an immediate descent upon the ancient city of Nankin, the former capital of the empire under the Chinese dynasties, the insurgent General issued the following proclamations :—

“ Houng, Captain-General of the army, having entire superintendence of military affairs, and aiding in the advancement of the Tai-ping, or Great Pacifying Dynasty, in obedience to the will of Heaven, issues this important and triumphant proclamation, to announce that he has punished the oppressor and saved the people.

“ It appears that, throughout the empire, rapacious officers are worse than violent robbers, and the corrupt mandarins of the public offices are no better than wolves and tigers, all originating in the vicious and

sottish monarch at the head of affairs, who drives honest people to a distance, and admits to his presence the most worthless of mankind, selling offices, and disposing of preferments, while he represses men of virtuous talent, so that the spirit of avarice is daily inflamed, and high and low are contending together for gain; the rich and the great are abandoned to vice without control, whilst the poor and miserable have none to redress their wrongs, the very recital of which exasperates one's feelings, and makes one's hair to stand on end. To refer to the case of the land revenue in particular, it appears that of late the exactions have been increased many fold, while the taxes due up to the thirtieth year of the last king's reign were at one time said to be remitted, and then again exacted, until the resources of the people are exhausted, and their miseries grown to excess. When our benevolent men and virtuous scholars contemplate these things, their minds are deeply wounded, and they cannot restrain themselves from rooting out these plundering officers and wolfish mandarins of each prefecture and district, in order to save the people from the flames and floods in which they are now involved. At the present moment our grand army is assembled like clouds; the province of Kouang-see has been settled, and Chang-sha (the capital of

Hoo-nan) tranquillized ; and being now about to proceed toward the region of Keang-see, (Keang-nan ? that is, the province of which Nankin is the capital), we deem it necessary to announce to the people that they need not be alarmed ; while agriculturists, mechanics, merchants, and traders may each peacefully pursue their occupations. It is necessary, however, that the rich should have in readiness stores of provisions to aid in the sustenance of our troops ; let each clearly report the amount of his contributions to this object, and we will furnish him with receipts, as security that hereafter the money shall be all repaid. Should there be any bold and strong men, or wise counsellors among you, let them with one heart and effort aid us in our great design ; and, when tranquillity is restored, we will have them promoted and rewarded according to their merit. All the officers of prefectures and districts who resist us shall be beheaded ; but those who are ready to comply with our requisitions must forthwith send unto us their seals of office, and then they may retire to their native villages. With regard to the rabble of wolfish policemen, we shall, as soon as we succeed, hang up their heads as a warning to all. Being now apprehensive lest local banditti should take occasion from our movements to breed disturbances, we wish you people

clearly to report the same, and we will immediately exterminate them. If any of the citizens or villagers dare to assist the marauding mandarins in their tyranny, and resist our troops and adherents, no matter whether they reside in great or small places, we will sweep them from the face of the earth. Be careful. Do not oppose. A special proclamation."

The other proclamation was as follows :

"Yang-seu-tsing, especially appointed General of the Grand Army, engaged in sweeping away the Tartars and establishing the new dynasty, issues this second proclamation :—

"I, the General, in obedience to the royal commands, have put in motion the troops for the punishment of the oppressor, and in every place to which I have come, the enemy at the first report have dispersed like scattered rubbish. As soon as a city has been captured, I have put to death the rapacious mandarins and corrupt magistrates therein, but have not injured a single individual of the people, so that all of you may take care of your families and attend to your business without alarm and trepidation. I have already issued proclamations to this effect, with which I presume you are acquainted. I have heard, however, that throughout the villages there are numbers of lawless vagabonds, who, previous to the arrival

of our troops, take advantage of the disturbed state of the country to defile men's wives and daughters, and plunder or burn the property of honest people. I, the General, have already apprehended some of these, and decapitated about a score of them ; now, because their localities are somewhat removed from the provincial capital (Gnan-king), these persons flatter themselves that I, the General, am not aware of their proceedings, which are very much to be detested. I have, therefore, sent a great officer, named Yuen, as a special messenger, with some hundreds of soldiers, to go through the villages, and, as soon as he finds these vagabonds, he is commissioned forthwith to decapitate them, while the honest inhabitants have nothing more to do than to stick up the word 'Shun' ('Obedient') over their doors, and then they have nothing to fear. I would wish to ask those of you who have given of your money, and aided with your provisions (the former Government), in order to purchase titles and official dignities, what is the glory of such distinctions ? And even those literary honours which the Mantchoo robbers have conferred at the literary examinations, of what use are they ? I and my followers are all subjects of the great Chinese empire, and students of the books handed down by the great sages of antiquity ; how then could we stoop to receive rank and emolu-

ment from the Mwan-e, Mantchoo barbarians? Do you, therefore, each one throw away the diplomas which you have received, and deceive yourselves no longer with them. As soon as I have taken Nankin, I will consult about arrangements for the literary examinations, and, after having weighed the merits of the respective candidates, I will select the most worthy scholars, and settle the degrees of literary rank to which they are entitled. With regard to the temples and monasteries which belong to the priests of Buddha and Taou, together with the property possessed by the brothels and gambling-houses, it is much better that it should be distributed among the poor people of the villages. At present we are seizing the priests of Buddha and Taou throughout the country, and putting them to death, and we are inquiring into those who have been foremost in the building and repair of the Buddhist temples, that we may have them apprehended likewise. When I, the general, have led forward my troops to the destruction of the Mantchoos, I will deliberate further about the examinations, in which everything shall be re-arranged according to the original customs of the Chinese. Should any disobey our injunctions, as soon as our grand army arrives, we will not leave them a dog or a fowl remaining. A special proclamation."

Here we see the profound policy that had removed so much opposition, if it did not call up much national patriotism to their aid ; and shewed with what utter contempt they viewed the imperial forces, who, it is evident had long before given up all hopes of success, and all real attempts at resisting their progress.

Contrast this with an extract from an Imperial proclamation :—"We think again of the present period, when the interests of the country are by no means in a favourable state, and the people are brought into the most afflictive circumstances ; which lead us to reproach and blame ourselves, and to exert our utmost energies in scheming and calculating, but to little effect ; does not this involve us in a most serious dereliction of duty, and constitute us the principal criminal in the whole empire ?"

At this time the Pekin Gazette was full of accounts of armies of Tartars crowding down to concentrate round and in front of the menaced capital ; accounts which, if they did not deter the insurgents, certainly misled the mass of foreign and native residents, at a distance from the seat of war.

The Imperial Government, fully sensible of the danger that would arise, should the insurgents obtain the ancient capital—from the patriotism it might call up, and the moral influence it would have upon a

superstitious people, well knowing also that with it would fall Chin-keang-foo, and Kwa-chow, the keys of the grand canal, upon which Peking so much depends for subsistence,—set every engine that folly, fraud, or force could employ to concentrate their forces, and defend this place, or give assurance of safety ; and such was their apparent success, that even well-informed Europeans, who did not understand the popular character of the movement, thought that the revolt would be speedily terminated on the insurgent forces meeting the Tartar. Yet this was the most rapid portion of their career ; and that it was so, can only be accounted for by the fact, that the Tartars discovered that it was a national movement, and gave themselves up to despair.

Had we seen the following letter, complaining of the cowardice or treachery of the Viceroy, it would have been sufficient to enable us to have predicted the consequence of their appearing before Nankin.

“ 2nd moon, 7th day (March 16, 1853).

“ Your Majesty’s slave, Seang-how, and his fellows, kneeling, beg leave to report the misconduct of the Viceroy (Luh), in surrendering important positions and losing favourable opportunities, whilst he, on his own responsibility, returned to the provincial capital, by which means the inhabitants were thrown into a

state of alarm ; also the misconduct of the Lieutenant-governor (Yang), who, without waiting for the Imperial commands, on his own responsibility removed to Chin-keang-foo, by which means the defence of Nankin was rendered doubly difficult. This our report we respectfully transmit up to the capital, at the rate of 600 *le* (60 leagues) a day, humbly submitting it to the Imperial inspection.

“The Imperial commands have been frequently sent down, inculcating the necessity of the most especial rigour and caution in the defence of Nankin ; because it appeared that the rebels had some intention of proceeding eastward, and though the city of Nankin was large, the soldiers in defence of it were few. The walls of the city are ninety-six *le* in extent, and it became necessary to place cannon at intervals for its defence, as well as to appoint officers to guard the place ; all which precautions were taken in conjunction with the Lieutenant-governor Yang-wang-ting, the Generals Fuh-choo-hang-a and Tsow-ming-hoh, the Treasurer of the province Ke-suh-tsaou, and the Commander of the Mantchoo battalion stationed at Nankin, in order to provide against unforeseen occurrences. The Imperial will was also requested, commanding Heang-yung and Ke-shen to intercept and exterminate the rebels, which despatch was also sent up to the

capital at the rate of 600 *le* a day. But as the minds of the people at Keang-nan are very excitable, and when there is anything the matter, reports are widely circulated, it became necessary to adopt the above measures as quietly as possible, that no disturbance might originate from them. For the last two months the walls of the city have been repaired with the utmost expedition, while powder and balls have been prepared, and provisions collected, in order to stand a siege. Able-bodied men have also been enlisted, and warlike implements manufactured ; while proclamations have been repeatedly issued, pacifying the people ; by which means the place has been kept in a state of comparative quietness. Who could have imagined, however, that the Viceroy Luh, because the general of the advanced guard Gnan-chang had been worsted in a skirmish with the rebels at Woo-hoo, should have immediately put about his vessel and returned eastward, pretending that it was necessary for him to come and defend the provincial capital ? In the haste with which he retreated, he neglected to place troops at any one of the important posts in his way, disregarding the defence of both the cities of Gnan-king and Hwuy-chow, and taking all the vessels of war and guns back with him : he also withdrew the soldiers destined for the defence of the eastern and western Leang Hills

and Woo-hoo, with those which might have guarded the entrance to Nankin and Soo-chow by land. On the 18th day of the 1st moon (February 25th), in the middle of the night, he arrived at the provincial capital in a single-boat, and at daylight next morning entered the city ; by which means he suddenly threw the gentry and people of the place into a state of alarm, which resulted in their hastily removing ; and although two proclamations were issued to pacify them, it was found impossible to prevent their flight. We, your Majesty's slaves, addressed a letter to the Viceroy, reminding him that he was the great officer Imperially appointed for the defence of the upper part of the river, and the extermination of the enemy, and ought, therefore, with all imaginable despatch, to lead forward the vessels of war, and sail up the stream to attack the rebels, thereby showing his regard for the inhabitants of the city, and allaying men's apprehensions ; but his Excellency remained quietly in his palace, and for three days returned no answer, which increased our apprehensions the more.

“ In addition to all this, the Lieutenant-governor Yang insisted on borrowing a pretext that he must take charge of Chin-keang, and thus on his own responsibility left the city. We, your Majesty's slaves, urgently remonstrated, and again intreated him to

stay. The Treasurer Ke, and his fellows, strove to detain him with tears, but the Lieutenant-governor Yang, on the morning of the 22nd (March 1st), regardless of the fate of his country, and neglectful of the important charge committed to his trust, with the utmost indifference abandoned his post and decamped. This threw the people into still greater consternation, and the removals went on increasing. We, your Majesty's slaves, conceive that in endeavouring to resist an enemy from without, it is necessary first to keep all quiet within. At the present crisis, the first thing to be done is to unite firmly the people's minds, lest they desert us in the hour of necessity. If we allow them tumultuously to remove, the local banditti will take advantage of the occasion, and form combinations and conspiracies ; thus, before we have suppressed the disorders from abroad they will cause revolutions at home. But now while the Governor and Lieutenant-governor are running like mice in different directions, being divided in their opinions as to what is necessary to be done, not knowing whether to advance or recede, the provincial city in the meantime is thrown into a state of confusion. Although this important and valuable position is guarded by well-disciplined soldiers, who make the public interest their own, and feel a just exasperation against the common enemy,

every one of them ready to rush forward in battle, and exert their utmost strength in behalf of the government : yet, as they are but few in number, when the enemy's fleet advances eastwards, it becomes the more intensely necessary to guard the position with the utmost energy.

“ We, your Majesty's slaves, in addition to taking all necessary precautions for the defence of the city, in conjunction with the Treasurer, the Intendant, and other civil officers, together with the Commandant of the Mantchoo battalion, arousing at the same time the courage of the soldiers, and tranquillizing the people, thus preparing for a bloody fight with a determined resolution to exert every energy in the cause ; in addition to all this, we have deemed it necessary to report the misconduct of the above-named Viceroy Luh, who, by surrendering important positions and losing favourable opportunities, whilst he retired on his own responsibility ; and the above-named Lieutenant-governor Yang, who, by inventing pretexts for going to Chin-Keang, whilst he quitted the provincial capital without leave, and threw the whole population into a state of alarm,—thus opening, as it were, the door for the thieves to come in at, have both of them egregiously failed in their duty, and should any unforeseen calamities follow, their crime will indeed be unpardonable.

It becomes us, therefore, faithfully to report the above particulars, and request your Majesty to command the Board of Punishments to inquire into and determine the punishment which is their due, as a warning to all. We also request the Imperial commands that Heang-yung, Ke-shen, and the rest, should immediately lead forward their troops towards Nankin, and intercept the rebels, by which means the insurgents will be exterminated, and the city tranquillized, and this important position, on which the fate of both the northern and southern positions of the Empire depend, be properly defended. We, your slaves, wait the Imperial will with trembling anxiety. This despatch is sent forward at the rate of 600 *le* a day.

“ The Imperial will has been received saying, ‘ It is recorded.’ ”

Such are not the men to keep or win back an Empire.

The Taoutai of Shanghai had hired a number of Portuguese Lorchas, and sent them up, together with some Imperial junks, to assist in arresting the progress of the insurgents ; and also applied to the English Consul of that port, to request that HM's Brig Lily, then lying there, should be sent up for the same purpose, with which Commander Saunderson very properly refused to comply. Upon the request and refusal

being reported to His Excellency Sir George Bonham, he determined to proceed to Shanghai with a view to ascertain the precise state of affairs, but having previously determined upon an entirely neutral part. He left in HMS *Hermes*, on the 13th of March, for Shanghai ; HMS *Rattler* being ordered also to increase the force at that place for the protection of British interests, should they be involved.

The Governor of Shanghai made a second request for assistance, which was as follows :

“ THE SHANGHAI TAOUTAI TO CONSUL ALCOCK.

“ Woo, Intendant of the Soosungtai Circuit, Superintendent of the Keang-nan Customs, &c. hereby makes a communication.

“ Having reported to his Excellency the Governor of Keang-soo the circumstances that none of the war-steamer of your country were as yet at Shanghai, nor could arrive till about the 1st decade of this month (10th to 19th March inclusive), and that there was only one of Her Britannic Majesty's vessels of war stationed at Shanghai, which was inadequate to stop or destroy the rebels ; I have just had the honour to receive His Excellency's reply, stating :

“ ‘ I have received and made myself fully acquainted with your report. I have now to state with reference

to this matter, that the rebels some time back divided themselves into parties, and ravaged the country of Kew-keang and Gnan-king, seizing all the merchant vessels anchored at the trading-places on the river. Afterwards, on being attacked by the armies from the provinces of Hoo-nan, Keang-see, &c. the whole body embarked, and made off eastward ; and although, at every point, efforts were made to bar their progress, the breadth of the river rendered it impossible to stop them ; while our grand army from the different quarters, advanced by land, could not be at once assembled, and the vessels of war were insufficient to follow on their track and destroy them. The power of the rebels has consequently assumed a still more formidable aspect ; and though the volunteer vessels, detached by you, have gained several victories, their force after all appears small. The few cannot contend with the many. The rebel fleet has now reached the river at Nanking, where the state of affairs is most dangerous and pressing. Unless attacked now when they have just arrived, it will be impossible to prevent the disaster of their penetrating the country on all sides. You will, therefore, again consult with the Consuls of the different nations, requesting that the vessels of war stationed at Shanghai, immediately come and attack the rebels ; and that the war-steamers, not yet

arrived, follow on in succession and assist in their extermination, thus cutting off, on behalf of China, this hateful set. Not only will His Imperial Majesty then cherish the recollection of the goodness shewn, but the officers and people will alike entertain a deep sense of gratitude ; while profound peace will be universally enjoyed, from which both sides will derive advantages, and which will enable every one to live in security, and pursue his occupation with pleasure. If we wait till the armies come down to the east in order to make a combined attack, the assistance will come too late to meet the pressure. You will, therefore, consult with the Consuls, and do what is necessary with all speed. I await in the highest degree of indescribable expectation and hope. I shall, in conjunction with the Governor-General, immediately address a communication to the Plenipotentiary.' This is given in reply.

" With reference to this, I have to state that the Provinces, the two Hoo (Hoo-nan and Hoo-pih), Keang-see, Gnan-king, and Keang-nan, are all seats of the general commerce of Shanghai. It is now nearly a year since the rebels, proceeding from Kouang-see, penetrated into Hoo-nan ; they afterwards penetrated to Hoo-pih, when all the marts of general commerce, as Han-khow, &c. were subjected to their depredations, thus impeding the communication

of the merchants and traders. They have now dared to come down eastward with the stream, and extended their depredations as far as Nankin. If they are not speedily cut off, commerce will be interrupted, and the business of Chinese and foreign merchants will be totally ruined.

“ Having received the reply of His Excellency to the above effect, I hasten to give you this communication, with which I beg you will make yourself acquainted.

“ I have to request that you will, in the first place, despatch the vessels of war which may have already arrived at Shanghai, together with that stationed there, to Nankin, that they may, with the lorchas under their command, make a combined attack, solemnly binding themselves to extirpate the rebels, in order to gratify the public mind and open the paths of commerce. I have also to request that you will urge, by letter, the speedy advance of the vessels which have not yet arrived, and their successive departure for Nankin, in order to sweep away every remnant of rebellion, and give tranquillity to the country, to the great happiness of myself, the Chinese officials, and people. For this I earnestly pray, I earnestly entreat.

“ I have addressed (similar) communications to the other Consuls on this subject. A necessary communication.”

To this document, the following reply was returned :

CONSUL ALCOCK TO THE SHANGHAI TAOUTAI.

“ Shanghai, March 22, 1853.

“ Alcock, Consul, makes this communication in reply :

“ Having reported to His Excellency Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary the circumstances detailed in your official communication of the 15th March last, conveying the request of His Excellency the Governor of Keang-soo that the vessels of war of my nation, stationed at Shanghai, should immediately proceed to Nanking, and there attack the rebels at present investing that city ; I am directed to state to you that His Excellency Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary having now arrived at this place, communication between the higher authorities is comparatively easy. If, therefore, His Excellency the Governor-General of the two Keang desires assistance, or otherwise to make any communication respecting the present state of affairs to Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary, it is desirable that His Excellency should officially address that Minister himself, and without the intervention of any subordinate officer. I am further to state that His Excellency Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary will not fail, on the receipt

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of such communication, to give its contents his best consideration, and send an early reply.

“ I have, therefore, to make this official communication to you, the Taoutai, and to beg that you will make it known to His Excellency the Governor-General. An important communication.

(Signed)

“ RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.”

This is a curious document for such a time, but thoroughly illustrative of the Chinese character. It is to be observed, that the application is only from a subordinate officer, whose application might be repudiated or denied at any future time ; though everything might depend upon this application being made properly, yet they dare not do so without authority. A political blunder is sufficient in the estimation of the Pekin authorities to merit the decapitation of a whole family. True to their old policy and worn-out traditions, they would neither confess directly their weakness, or apply in a proper form for the assistance upon which they knew their very existence as a Government depended. Their turn has come—and it is but just that they should pass away.

Colonel Marshall, the United States' Minister, having refused to give up his credentials to a subordinate officer at Canton, where Ministers are ordinarily re-

ceived, the Viceroy being absent at the war, he came, it was said, to Shanghae, determined to communicate with the Viceroy of Keang-soo. He arrived just at the conjuncture when Nankin was said to be invested. Notwithstanding that it was so evident that the proper course for foreign nations to adopt was one strictly neutral, to allow the people to make their own choice as to who should be their governors; there were some influential people, and some of them, strange to say, subjects of countries with republican governments, who could not view this very simple question in that light, and who could not believe that the insurgents were more than an organized banditti; though indeed the Tartars had been no better; and the insurgents might well inquire, as they did somewhat after that manner, in their first manifesto, Is there a statute of limitations against natives doing what foreigners did—possess themselves of the government?

Amongst those who gave currency to the view that they were mere banditti, were many of the Roman Catholic Missionaries; and for a time some weight was given to their testimony, as they were known to have correspondents amongst their converts in and about Nankin and other places in the interior.

An American house, it was said, considering it a duty to support the Tartar cause, chartered a vessel to

be employed against the Insurgents ; but from the difficulties of the river, or because she could not arrive in time to be of service, returned to Shanghae without effecting anything.

The United States steam-frigate *Susquehanna*, with his Excellency Colonel Marshall on board, also started for Nankin ; whether with a view to present his credentials as Minister, or to support the Imperialists, is not known ; but it was well known that as the Taoutai of Shanghae had published that he had hired the war-steamer of the "Barbarians" to destroy the Insurgents, her going at that period would at least have a moral effect injurious to the cause of the Insurgents, and in some measure compromise Europeans as respects a past policy. Happily she also grounded in the passage, and returned ;* but not before advantage had been taken of her starting, by a Chinese official, to issue the following :—"The ships of the barbarian volunteers which have been engaged are strong, and their guns effective, while they themselves are filled with a strong feeling of common hatred to the rebels, in their desire

* Though I seem to say that the *Susquehanna* could not get up the river because of her great draught, her having done so recently, proves that she could have done so then, had her captain so determined. I dare say he was aware that it did not consist with the policy of his government to go, so he could not perceive a passage.

to exterminate whom they provide themselves with necessaries at their own cost. Within a definite period they will search the portion of the river beyond Chin-Keang, when there will be no difficulty in sweeping off this detestable set. You, the people, have no occasion for entertaining alarm, doubt, or fear. The gentry and scholars are hereby authorized to point out for prosecution all persons who may invent false reports, tending to the insecurity of regular occupations, and to whom no indulgence will be shown. A special proclamation."

It will be observed in this, that while they admit that they are receiving assistance from us, they still style us "*barbarians*,"—not so the insurgents. To this document, and others of a similar kind by the Taoutai of Shanghai, were we indebted for the salutation we received in the *Hermes* from the bathers at Ching-Keang-foo, Kwa-chow, and afterward at Nankin.

For several weeks, though so near the scene of war, we remained without any reliable information with respect to the progress of the war. Nankin was reported to have been taken, when it was not so ; and we did not receive authentic information concerning its fall till some time after it had been taken. It might be that the panic was such, as that even duties were left unfulfilled,—the number of high officials cut

off was so great that there was no official person for a time to make the communication,—or perhaps they kept the information from us, buoyed up by the hope that we might (if not acquainted with the hopelessness of the case) still be induced to assist. When it did take place, the reports of the manner in which it was taken were numerous, and none of them correct. One of them is so characteristic of Chinese exaggeration that I may mention it. It was stated that the insurgents had made prisoners of, or were joined by, 30,000 men, (somewhat like our navigators—men who make the earth-works of our railways,) employed in China in repairing the embankments of the Yellow River, and that these raised an embankment or causeway as high as the city walls, over which the insurgent army marched in.

It is more than probable that the letter addressed to Mr. Consul Alcock, and the following Imperial proclamation announcing the fall of Nankin, give the true state of the case: That the fleet anchored off Nankin—that a portion of the force attacked from the north, these effecting the breach in the wall,—the place which we afterwards saw repaired,—a part most easy of defence, and for which they had abundance of excellent guns, had they been so advised or determined, as it was commanded by a hill in its immediate vici-

nity—that another party blew down the I-fung gate, and that their confederates lighted signal fires, and all attacked together.

The Tartar contingent was supposed to have been about 8000 ; and that the total number, including women and children, could not have been less than 20,000 ; and it was supposed that they, more so than when fighting with our troops, would have sold their lives dearly, knowing from the insurgent proclamations that they would meet with “no quarter,” yet on the contrary they seem to have been utterly paralyzed ; “they threw themselves,” we were informed, “on their knees crying, ‘Oh ! Prince, Prince, spare us !’ But we killed them all to the infant in arms ; we left not a root to sprout from : their bodies were thrown into the Yang-tze-Keang.”

An insurgent proclamation stated, that the Emperor had established the seat of his government at Nankin on the 21st of March, having thoroughly slaughtered the Mantchoo thieves, not leaving a dog or fowl remaining :—

“Yang-wang-ting, governor of Keang-soo, then in garrison at Chin-keang-foo, has sent a memorial, stating that a report by a scout had been made to him that Keang-nan, the provincial capital (Nankin) was taken. At sight of this, my indignation is inexpressible. The

report brought to the said governor was to the effect that on the 11th day of the second month [20th of March] the rebels having driven a mine to the spot, blew down I-fung gate; and it is stated, moreover, that their confederates within the city lighted signal fires, and the walls were scaled. But what occurred subsequently, and what became of all the civil and military authorities, both Mantchoo and Chinese within the city? Thinking of the cruel fate to which the inhabitants, the scholars, the rich, and the poor, have been reduced, I turn to the south, and my anguish redoubles. Had only the reinforcements arrived in good time, is it possible the city could have fallen in the space of ten days? I have already nominated I-liang (Tartar General of Foo-chow) to act as governor-general of the two Keang provinces; let him proceed to his post with the utmost speed. Yang-wang-ting, who is defending Chin-keang, is to officiate till his arrival; and Lien Ying (provincial treasurer) is to act as governor of Keang-soo. Heang-yung has reported his arrival, by a circuitous route, at Liu-ho [a district town about twenty miles north of Nankin,] and he was about to cross the river; let him arrange his offensive operations as circumstances require. He must post the late contingent of vessels, and land and marine troops, so as to protect exposed points; and in

concert with Yang-wang-ting and the others, attack the rebels on both flanks, and keep them from spreading over the country.

“ With respect to the taxes due by the various districts in Keang-nan which have been overrun, let Chang-wang-ting make due investigation, and report thereon, that they may be remitted, or the recovery postponed ; and the same steps are to be taken in the case of the neighbouring places, where the inhabitants, having been occupied in defensive proceedings, have not been able to give the necessary attention to the cultivation of their lands. Respect this.”

About this time the walls of such of the celestial cities as were subject to imperial rule, were placarded over with the following proclamation, printed on the favourite yellow paper :—

“ I am filled with apprehension, and humbly entreat August Heaven to pardon my offences and save my poor people. Let the great officers of the court and the various provinces, with the magistrates of the different districts, arouse the good feelings of their nature, and seek to rid the people of the calamity. The scholars and people of every place, also, must unite in opposing the enemy, and speedily exterminate these rebellious monsters. Thus they will perpetually enjoy peace and prosperity, under the gracious protection of

Heaven: while we, with the officers and people throughout the empire, will be alike animated by reverence and gratitude. The present period, being the season appointed for offering the great sacrifices with the proper ceremonies, we have set forth our views and feelings, and again reiterate our injunctions. Let the Board of Ceremonies, with the great officers of every province, engrave and publish this decree on yellow paper, to inform all, both far and near, that they may be made universally acquainted with our intentions. Respect this."

A remarkable feature is mentioned in this proclamation, and seems to have obtained throughout, as we found it to be also on going up the river, that is, of the insurgents having confederates everywhere: and the perfect immunity with which they travelled even into the Tartar Imperial Camp, and pasted up their proclamations—clearly marking the extensive popular element there must have been in the movement.

Heang-Yung, who is mentioned in this publication as having arrived by a circuitous route at Liu-ho, was in chief command at first in Kwang-se; but degraded, for having been so signally beaten by the insurgents. He followed them up from thence at a respectable distance, it is true; but, nevertheless, from time to time, reporting the recapture of cities. It mattered not:

that they had been evacuated by the insurgents, as not suitable to their purposes to hold. They having made a detour to the north to levy funds for the war, or to avoid interfering with trade, which they stated was an object they had had always in view. He was obliged also to make a similar circuit, lest he should fall in with them : and now comes up, taking great credit for his valour—crosses the river as directed—but he, himself, took up his position some twelve miles from the city, at Ta-ping-foo—pushing his advanced posts nearly up to the city, under the walls of which, skirmishes of no importance were of daily occurrence.

The insurgents in obtaining possession, commenced suitable operations for defence and consolidation of their power : thus they built watch-houses along the walls on the South and East sides, where Heang-yung's troops were ; and as the view within the walls was often interrupted by trees and eminences, they raised look-out houses, and signal stations, at short intervals upon high platforms raised by scaffolding, repaired the trenches in the walls, and placed heavy guns in positions to cover the weak points.

They are said to have found 300,000 taels in the military chest—a sum equal to about £120,000 sterling—and much rice. They certainly captured very large supplies, either here or subsequently at Kwa-

chow ; probably tribute-corn, that was on its way by the Grand Canal to Pekin—for we found them with about 100,000 tons, judging from the number and size of the junks containing it.

On the 31st of this month—just eleven days after their capture of this place—a large body pushed on in their numerous river-craft ; and these, though ill-adapted for war, were in such numbers as to be very formidable to the few Portuguese Lorchas and Mandarin junks, sent up by the Taoutai of Shanghai, which fled with precipitation on their approach—and they occupied Ching-Keang without opposition, the garrison having fled without firing a shot.

The families of the resident Tartars, warned by the fate of their companions, fled from the place, to the number of 20,000 it is said : of which, a few caught in the surrounding villages were slain. It is probable, that if the number above stated were correct, that many of them were originally from Nankin. On the same day they must have occupied Kwa-chow, which is a little higher up on the opposite side of the river ; and the large city of Yang-chow, also on the northern side of the Yang-tsze-Keang, the following day.

The capture of these places was more important than that of Nankin itself ; for these commanded the entrance of the Grand Canal—gave them possession of

the immense grain supplies already collected there—and prevented the passage of the necessary supplies up to Peking : while it gave them a means of carrying up supplies to this same army, as they should proceed northward.

Of the capture of these places by this time, we had no doubt. One only doubt was, as to the manner, and what would be the future moves of the insurgents.

These reports do not seem to have blinded the people to the real state of matters. They quite felt that the insurgents had but to determine upon what line of march they would take ; and every obstacle, on the part of the Imperialists, was removed.

Anticipating, as it was even reported to be, that Soo-chow, Hang-chow, and Shanghai, were to be the next cities taken ; deputations were arranged, and sums collected for the purpose of buying off their hostility : that from Soo-chow was actually sent. It was also reported, that the deputation from Hang-chow was met half-way by an emissary from Nankin ; and directed to return, as they were not in want of money, and did not wish that the people of Hang-chow should be compromised.

Such was the panic that goods were sent from Soo-chow to Shanghai for security ; yet this place fared little better in this respect, for here also there was a

perfect panic. The people streamed out night and day, carrying their moveables into the country villages round ; boats were passing eastward, all loaded with families and their property, so that in a few days the city was nearly depopulated ; and finally, shops were shut up, business stopped, and the Taoutai applied to the consuls for protection.

The panic seemed to grow with the excitement, and the fears of all were increased by the reports which arrived daily of the progress of the insurgents towards us, and of the sanguinary character of their proceedings ; and so specific did these become, that the foreign residents thought that the time had fully come to commence preparations for their personal safety.

A meeting was held at the British Consulate, presided over by the Consul, Mr. Alcock, who took a very confident view of the effective stand that could be made, with the assistance of the forces present, were the residents but true to themselves. A committee of public safety was appointed, and a volunteer corps enrolled.

The question was raised as to whether we should undertake the defence of the city. Sir George Bonham, however, decided, that it was incompatible with the line of policy he had determined on ; and wrote to me, as senior officer present, to take the necessary steps to

prevent the locality, set apart for the settlement of the English at this port, being interfered with in any manner likely to endanger the lives and property of our countrymen. He wrote—"I must, therefore, look to you to adopt such steps, as in your judgment you may think necessary for the protection of their interests;" stating his belief to be founded upon the most reliable information that could be obtained, that the insurgents were approaching. It was currently reported that they were within thirty miles.

One hundred officers and men were landed from the English vessels of war present, viz., the *Hermes*, *Salamander*, and *Lily*, together with two field-pieces. Arrangements were made for embarking the ladies and children, and parts assigned for each to take. His Imperial Majesty's steamer *Cassini*, Captain Du Plas, and the French residents, and the United States' frigate *Plymouth*, Captain Kelly, and the American residents undertaking to perform their respective shares in case of attack.

Even the Taoutai called out the militia, enlisted more soldiers, and employed all the carpenters in building gun-carriages for guns, which he purchased from the merchants; and which he ludicrously enough planted in positions where, if once fired, they must inevitably capsize and fall from the walls into the town:

but this he said was of no consequence, as the sight of them would frighten the thieves. Yet he had no confidence in his own assertions, for he embarked the Imperial treasure in H. M. S. Lily for safety.

Meanwhile, at the instance of the Committee of Public Safety, the natural dispositions of the land and water for defence were taken advantage of and increased, by opening up the ditches and throwing up some field-works, the effect of which, and the fact of landing the remainder of the crews of the ships, and exercising them on the race-course, was in a great measure to restore confidence. They were much delighted at the rapidity with which the field-pieces were removed from one part to another in concert with the troops, dismounted, mounted and fired. They soon made up their minds that the insurgents would not come near us; and most certainly the plundering rabble, who accompany too generally the movement of armed forces, would not.

The Imperialists, true to their policy, endeavoured by every kind of artifice that untruth or cowardice could suggest, to hide their losses, hoping that some happy circumstance might turn the tide in their favour, but each day made more evident their helpless imbecility.

The Imperialist Generals reported successes, and the

Pekin Gazette chronicled them, and announced the promotions of some and the decorations of others. Amongst these last was the Taoutai of Shanghai; and he was as true to his party as he could be to any thing or person; but these successes were all of the character of those achieved by General Keang-Yung, who followed the insurgents all the way from Kwang-si; but they ran so fast, he never could catch and exterminate them. Still, he always effected the recapture of cities they had previously evacuated: not more certainly did the Pekin Gazette report Imperial success, than the insurgents obtained it.

Amongst other reports current was one that Nankin had been retaken, and that the insurgents had been defeated at Tai-ping-foo; the latter place they abandoned, and the Imperialists reoccupied it; this was the ground of the alleged triumph. In reference to the former, an interesting conversation between Dr. Medhurst and a native took place.

In one of his missionary excursions into the city, he appears to have fallen into conversation with an intelligent man, a native of Kwang-tung. Questioning him upon the subject of this report, he said—"There is a report that the Imperialists have retaken Nankin. Is it true?" Smiling derisively, he answered—"No! they will never take it!" "Why?" "Those who have

taken Nankin are Sabbath men." "What has that to do with it?" "Why, they are worshippers of Yesú." "Where did they obtain that knowledge?" "Do you know Luslaff?" (the name by which Gutzlaff was known amongst the Chinese). "Yes, I knew him." "Well, you know, we used to go in and out of his house and hear him talk; and there are lots of people in Quangsi and Quangtung, worshippers of Yesù, ready to join them."

"But how is it that these men at Nankin are so cruel, destroying the priests? that is not like worshippers of Jesu." "Why should they not destroy them? You know there are not such a set of vile scoundrels in the world as them; they corrupt all our women and children, and no good can come while they are allowed to live."

Now this man, though not a believer in Christianity, was a thorough disbeliever in the dogmas of Buddha; and perceived a value and a power in Christianity, though he could neither understand nor explain how it was so.

Even Samqua's mind misgave him as to the character of the insurgents. About this time I asked him how it was that with such large and well-appointed armies, as the Imperialists investing Nankin were said to be, they did not re-capture it? He answered, these thieves were not men, they were devils; that they had

undermined all the ground inside the walls ; that the Imperialists had effected a breach in the walls, but anticipating an ambushade, they had driven a large number of buffaloes in through the breach, and that these had all disappeared into a frightful gulf, which the insurgents had made. He spoke Canton-English, and told this story with evident sincerity, with as complete an expression of fear and wonder as ever was depicted on the face of a child, at the stories of Jack the Giant Killer, or on hearing read the Mysteries of Udolpho.

Things began gradually to settle down ; and as the insurgents did not come, the impression grew that they were not coming, though a considerable amount of uncertainty and alarm still prevailed, The immediate cause of the pause seems to have arisen out of a circumstance that we afterwards learnt. It appears that the advanced guard of the insurgents was composed mostly of cavalry, and that these pushed on much beyond the main portion of the army, finding all deserted before them, and even further than was intended should be occupied permanently. Their advance upon one of the towns was so rapid, that a small mandarin and his party had not time to escape ; so they hid themselves, and remained undiscovered. The advanced guard retired, but one or two straggled and

were left behind. This mandarin and his party then sallied out, seized them, and reported having re-captured the place, and these prisoners proved their prowess, which was duly chronicled in the Pekin Gazette, together with his promotion. The Imperialists and the people meanwhile, rushing away from this advanced guard, do not seem to have drawn rein till they reached within the reputed distance of Shanghai, where they said they left the insurgents following.

Matters were in this position when Mr. Interpreter Meadows, commiserating the state of painful uncertainty in which the European residents at Shanghai were placed, from being in constant fear of an attack on the part of the rebel army, resolved, in a most courageous manner, to attempt the hazardous expedient of discovering their strength by a personal visit to the dreaded camp. With this view, he left, on the 9th of April, for Soo-chow, whence it was his intention to have found his way to the scene of the disturbances by the Grand Canal. After an absence of ten days Mr. Meadows returned, having proceeded on his journey as far as Tan-yang (twenty-three miles distant from Chin-keang-foo), where he collected a good deal of interesting and important information. It seems that Mr. Meadows reached Soo-chow on the day following to that on which he started, Chang-chow, on

the Grand Canal, on the 13th, and Tan-yang on the 14th. When at the latter place, he found the canal so shallow that he could not proceed on his journey. He therefore returned to Shanghai to convey the information he had already obtained, and also, after consulting with Sir George Bonham, to make preparations for proceeding to his destination by the Yang-tzse-keang. At Tan-yang no Imperial troops were stationed; but Mr. Meadows saw a number of Tartar soldiers who had fled in great alarm from Chin-keang, and from whom he learnt that both Nankin and Chin-keang were held by insurgent garrisons.

After leaving Tan-yang on his return, and before reaching Chang-Chow, he met a detachment of General Heang's army (the Imperial General and Commissioner,) proceeding to the latter place in boats and on foot, to the number, it would seem, of 2000 men.

From all information he was able to gather, Mr. Meadows estimated the number of the insurgents to be between 30,000 and 40,000, all wearing long hair, their heads being unshaven, in addition to which there were volunteers and pressed men, said to amount to between 80,000 and 100,000. They had garrisoned Nankin with the main force, estimated at 30,000, besides irregulars, and Chin-keang with 3,000 troops,

of whom 1,000 are long-haired ; and after leaving a garrison at Yang-chow (on the north bank of the Yang-tsze-keang), they proceeded with the remaining portion of their force to the confluence of the Yellow River with the Grand Canal, some 200 miles distant, to dispute the passage of an Imperial army, said to be on its way from the north, under the command of a prince of the Imperial family.

The Imperial General Heang's head-quarters were stated to Mr. Meadows to be ten miles to the south-east of Nankin, between it and Tan-Yang ; and Governor Yang, one of the insurgent generals, was reported to be at Keang-yin, with a naval and military force, including lorchas, and one or two square-rigged vessels. On his return, Mr. Meadows saw between Chang-chow and Soo-chow, a body of 10,000 Imperialists, stated by proclamation to have arrived from the Province of Che-keang.

Mr. Meadows succeeded in detaching, from the walls of one of the towns he passed through, a copy of a proclamation of the Tartars, in which the people were given to understand that the English had promised to afford the Hein-foung dynasty the use of several war-steamers, and to do all they could to exterminate the insurgents.

This and other information which Mr. Meadows

brought, determined Sir George Bonham to proceed to Nankin, that he might ascertain the facts of the case, and explain to the revolutionary chiefs our entire neutrality.

CHAPTER IV.

PASSAGE TO NANKIN—DESTRUCTION OF IDOLS—OPENING
FIRE UPON THE HERMES FROM CHIANG KIANG—INTER-
VIEW AT NANKIN—CORRESPONDENCE—INTERVIEW AND
CORRESPONDENCE AT CHIANG-KIANG-FOO.

WITH the views mentioned in the preceding chapter, Sir George Bonham embarked in H. M. S. Hermes, on the 22nd of April, and though the evening set in thick and raining, we started all in great spirits to make our way over the flats near Woo-sung, that we might be enabled to make an early start up the river in the morning. The next day the weather, after we had been steaming a couple of hours, became so thick, that we could not proceed. We therefore anchored for an hour and a half, and then weighed, and proceeded without interruption till just before anchoring for the night, when mistaking one hill for another, supposed to be in sight, but which was not, we ran aground, and lay thus till the tide rose, when we moved into deep water and anchored till daylight.

24th. Weighed and proceeded; in the afternoon reached Keang-yin, where the acting Viceroy of the Keangs was said to be. At a turn in the river, owing to the fact of the point having been extended further out than was represented in the chart, and at about six o'clock in the evening, we ran the ship aground at nearly high water; out-boats laid out sheet-anchor a-stern, hove taut in it. Observing an Imperial man-of-war junk passing, sent a cutter and brought her along-side—discharged chains, shot, and other weights into her—blew the water out of one boiler—high-water morning tide—hove off.

25th. Gave the men of the Imperial vessel a dollar each, which produced any amount of Kow-towing. Poor creatures, I fancy they receive but little from their Imperial master.

The Viceroy, quite incompatibly with their ordinary custom and assumptions, sent to know either when Sir George Bonham would wait on him, or when he would receive him; (the acting Viceroy) evidently shewing that they were ready to descend to anything that gave them a prospect of release from the difficulties they were in from the insurgents, to which he received no satisfactory answer.

After re-embarking cables and anchors, we proceeded—but anchored out of sight of the Imperial fleet, anti-

icipating, that if we gave them time to make preparations they would follow us up to Chiang-kiang-foo, and lead the insurgents to suppose that we were assisting the Imperialists, as they had issued a proclamation to that effect.

26th. Daylight proceeded—passed the Imperial flotilla at anchor, consisting of 2 schooners (purchased from Europeans) 8 Portuguese lorchas, (hired) and 17 or 18 other vessels, heavily armed, and furnished with boarding nettings, &c. Called off the town of Tamtoo, to inquire about the Insurgents. We had supposed that the people on the banks of the river, as we came along, would have known something of the movements of the Insurgents and Imperialists, but they neither knew nor seemed to care ; at this place, within 12 or 14 miles by a straight track, we thought they would certainly know if the place itself were not an outpost from the Insurgent camp ; yet, strange to say, they knew nothing, nor had any of the Insurgents been there.

We passed on, Sir George Bonham having previously sent Mr. Meadows forward for the purpose of opening a communication. He learnt from some priests (Buddhist) at Silver Island, where he landed, that some insurgents had been there three days previously, had destroyed all the idols, and cast the remains of many of them into the river. Much of the remains we saw—

some floating—the gold glittering in the sun ; other portions still in the island, close to the water's edge. Marvellous sight indeed ! which appeared the more so when we reflected that many of the people who had thus destroyed these and thrown their remains out as accursed *Nehushtan*, had not long since ceased to bow down and adore these “ works of men's hands—wood and stone.”

The sight which met our eyes on our fairly opening Chiang-kiang-foo to view was a very striking one. Their scouts had evidently sent forward the news of the approach of an enemy, which had flown like lightning almost, and had called up armed warriors in all directions to resist attack.

The river-side for a full mile was lined by batteries and stockades, which were all occupied by men in red head-dresses ; some with red belts, and dresses made party-coloured by a large patch on each man's breast and back, with the badge of the Tae-ping-wang's army. Thousands again were occupying the heights, waving hundreds of banners in defiance ; many others were crowding down towards the river-side as if to be the first in the fight, should we attempt to land or to support those already in the forefront.

Here and there were to be seen men in red or yellow hoods and capes of the same colour on horseback, gal-

loping along the lines—their standard-bearers and guards hurrying after them as they best could—all evincing an enthusiasm and a unity of purpose that proved them something more than mere hirelings.

Close in under the batteries were many junks, and still more on the entrance of the grand canal on the opposite side : some no doubt of those in which they had come down the river ; others were tribute junks that they had seized on their way up to Peking with corn for the support of the northern provinces, which they had appropriated, to the great distress of the Government. These also were crowded with men in the red caps and badges, waving flags equally in defiance. Owing to our approach in the *Hermes*, or that of the Imperial flotilla, they opened fire upon us ; consequently Mr. Meadows was unable to open a communication ; so Sir George Bonham proposed leaving a letter to be sent on shore from one of the junks detained by the insurgents. While this was being prepared, the Imperial flotilla hove in sight, led by the Chinese admiral in a green lorcha. As soon as they arrived within range of the stockades and batteries, they all opened fire. In a short time all were fairly engaged. We were particularly pleased with the style in which the green lorcha led in, and continued working about to bring her broadsides alternately to bear.

Feeling that it was no fault of the insurgents that we were fired upon, but a mistake they had been led into by the lies of the Imperialists, and the bad company we happened to be in, we did not consider it dignified or expedient to return the fire, so passed on. One plucky fellow came much closer than was pleasant, and struck us several times with a twelve-pounder. Even that they were working with great spirit and coolness. Anxious to signal that we were not hostile, I went with one of the interpreters on the paddle-box boat and waved to them to desist;—we forgetting for the moment that waving is a defiance in China. This made matters so much worse that it was deemed prudent to leave him; so we pushed on up the river.

The Imperial flotilla, after keeping up their cannonade with tolerable spirit for some time, hauled over towards Kwa-chow, at the mouth of the Grand Canal, on the north side, and gave them a salvo—but their fire was too distant all through, and too much at random to produce any effect; they probably sustained more damage than they effected.

As we passed up, we seized a boat and two men, by whom to effect a correspondence at Nankin, as soon as we should arrive. Passed this evening the remains of an immense Tartar bridge on fire; it had had houses

of wood on either side of the road-way, which also had been much wider than bridges ordinarily are in China. As this must have contained many hundred tons of wood, and as the fastenings and stayings were very elaborate, we conjectured it must have taken much time and labour to have effected it. But we learnt afterwards, that it had been built by the Insurgents to cross an arm of the river towards Nankin, and therefore it must have been built in a short time, requiring no ordinary skill and wonderful energy. While at anchor, in the evening our attention was drawn by an amazing noise of men's voices, as if in conflict on the banks of the river, or busily employed on some important enterprize. Many were the conjectures as to what their employment could probably be, and whether this fire-raft, as we supposed it to be, was intended for us ; but the morning revealed that they were merely fighting for the spoil. We learnt afterwards that the Insurgents had destroyed the bridge after taking the city, as it would have afforded the Imperialists a facility of access to the city wall.

27th. Daylight—started for Nankin—all the way up was strewn with spars, debris of the bridge—which men and boats were busily employed picking up. On our approaching, the batteries opened fire, but we deemed it more expedient to anchor out of range, and

dispatch the two men, brought up for the purpose, with a letter, these were given five dollars each to take the letter, and were to receive ten more if they brought an answer ; they refused at first, stating that they would have their heads taken off—but money is all powerful among the Chinese, so they risked all, and it proved no risk, for on their landing the firing ceased near them, and signals ran along the line for all the firing to cease. Two men advanced to meet them ; these led them to the Commandant of the nearest post, who returned “ a courteous, but somewhat unsoldierlike reply.” After which, Mr. Meadows, accompanied by Lieutenant Spratt, proceeded on shore for the purpose of arranging the terms of an interview, or of obtaining information to guide in any other step. He says, “ After about half an hour’s walk, led by one or two volunteer guides, and surrounded by numbers of the Insurgent troops, we were stopped in front of a house in the northern suburb. Our attendants here ranged themselves in two rows, forming an avenue of ten to fifteen yards in length, from the door of the house to ourselves. Two persons clothed in yellow silk gowns and hoods then appeared at the threshold, and the soldiers about called on me to kneel. This I refused to do, but advanced, and uncovering, told the two persons that I had been sent by Her

Majesty's Plenipotentiary, to make enquiries and arrangements respecting a meeting between him and the chief authorities at Nankin. As they retreated into the house without giving any reply, while the summons to kneel was being continued, and Mr. Spratt was called on by words and gestures to lay aside his sword ; I, after recommending that gentleman to disregard the requisition, deemed it advisable to follow the chiefs without awaiting invitation. I accordingly entered the house, and advancing to the spot where they had seated themselves, on the only two chairs within sight, again informed them of the purpose for which I had come.

"Before I had well finished I heard scuffling and angry shouting at the door behind me, and the chiefs crying out "Ta!"—Beat! Two or three of their armed followers commenced beating the man who had been most prominent in guiding us there. One of the chiefs, whom I subsequently ascertained to be known as the Northern Prince, then asked if I worshipped "God the Heavenly Father?" I replied that the English had done so for eight or nine hundred years. On this he exchanged a glance of consultation with his companion (the assistant Prince), and then ordered seats to be brought. After I and my companion had seated ourselves, a conversation of considerable length

ensued, between myself and the Northern Prince, the first in rank of the two ; the other, the assistant Prince, listening and observing attentively, but saying nothing to me directly, and only making a short remark, when looked to or addressed by his superior. The conversation on my part was turned chiefly on the number and relative rank of the Insurgent chiefs, and on the circumstances under which they would be prepared to meet Sir George Bonham ; but I also explained, as authorized, the simple object of his visit, viz. to notify the desire of the British Government to remain perfectly neutral in the struggle between them and the Mantchoos, and to learn their feeling towards us, and their intention, in the event of their forces advancing towards Shanghai. I explained to him that we had no concern with the square-rigged vessels, lorchas, and other craft, that had followed the *Hermes* into Chin-keang ; also that the proclamations of the Mantchoo officials, stating that they had engaged the services of a number of foreign steamers, were false, in so far as British vessels were included ; and that though we could not prevent the sale of English craft, private property, more than the sale of manufactures generally, such craft, after sale, were not entitled to the use of the national colours.

"To all this the Northern Prince listened, but made little or no rejoinder; the conversation, in so far as directed by him, consisting mainly of inquiries as to our religious belief, and expositions of their own. He stated, that, as children and worshippers of one God, we were all brethren; and after receiving my assurance that such had long been our view also, inquired if I knew the Heavenly Rules (Tien teaou). I replied, that I was most likely acquainted with them, though unable to recognize them under that name; and, after a moment's thought, asked if they were ten in number? He answered eagerly in the affirmative. I then began repeating the substance of the first of the Ten Commandments, but had not proceeded far before he laid his hand on my shoulder in a friendly way, and exclaimed, "The same as ourselves! the same as ourselves!" While the simply observant expression on the face of his companion disappeared before one of satisfaction, as the two exchanged glances.

"He then stated, with reference to my previous inquiry as to their feelings and intentions towards the British, that not merely might peace exist between us, but that we might be intimate friends. He added, we might now, at Nankin, land and walk about where we pleased.

"He spoke repeatedly of a foreigner at Canton, whom

he named Lo-ho-sun, as being a good man. He described this person as one who cured the sick without remuneration, and as having been recently home for a short period. He reverted again and again, with an appearance of much gratitude, to the circumstance that he and his companions in arms had enjoyed the special protection and aid of God, without which they could never have been able to do what they had done against superior numbers and resources ; and, alluding to our declarations of neutrality and non-assistance to the Mantchoos, said, with a quiet air of thorough conviction, " It would be wrong for you to help them ; and, what is more, it would be of no use. Our Heavenly Father helps us, and no one can fight with Him."

" With respect to the proposed meeting, he pointed to one of his officers standing near, and said the latter would come on the following day, to guide any who might choose to come to an interview. I replied that such an arrangement might do very well for myself and others, but that Sir George Bonham was an officer of high rank in her Britannic Majesty's service, and could certainly not proceed to any meeting unless it were previously settled where, by whom, and how he was to be received. " However high his rank may be," was the reply, " he cannot be so high as the per-

sons in whose presence you are now sitting." And I could obtain nothing more definite than that the reception would take place in a Yamun in the city, and that we should have no cause to take objections to the station of the personages met. I said I should make my report to his Excellency accordingly, but could not answer for his landing.

"In reply to my inquiries respecting the Tae-ping-wang, the Prince of Peace, the Northern Prince explained in writing that he was the "True Lord," or Sovereign; that "the Lord of China is the Lord of the whole world; he is the second Son of God; and all the people in the whole world must obey and follow him." As I read this without remark, he said, looking at me interrogatively, "The True Lord is not merely the Lord of China; he is not only our Lord, he is your Lord also." As I still made no remark, but merely kept looking at him, he did not think fit to insist on an answer, and, after a while, turned his head, and began to talk of other matters. His conversation gave great reason to conclude that though his religious beliefs were derived from the writings, or it might even be the teachings, of foreigners, still he was quite ignorant of the relative positions of foreign countries, and had probably got most of his notions of international dealings from the Chinese records of

periods when the territory of the present Empire was divided into several states."

Meanwhile the news soon spread amongst the Insurgents that we were brethren, and numbers came immediately to fraternize. They appeared much pleased at our having our hair long in front like themselves, and that we did not wear tails. The men recently joined had badges sewn on before and behind, to shew that they belonged to the Holy Army. One young fellow, frank and merry-hearted, jumped up to take Sir George Bonham's hat off, to look at his hair, and to admire his hat, which was an ordinary round hat, but he was in contrast to us, as we generally had uniform caps; in doing this, he nearly forced his hat over his eyes, however Sir George was as much amused as the lad himself, and took it very good-naturedly. Numbers continued to flock on board, as the question of friendliness was settled; we weighed, to move closer to the city walls, and many of the Insurgents fell into the capstan to assist, and seemed to enjoy it all as great fun; all in a manner quite unlike any Chinese we had ever met. They at once got on the most friendly terms, and remained so the five days we were there.

Towards the evening two minor chiefs arrived, bringing a paper in reference to the proposed meeting.

" A MANDATE.

" Commands are hereby issued to the brethren from afar, that they may all understand rules of ceremony.

" Whereas God, the Heavenly Father, has sent our Sovereign down on earth, as the true Sovereign of all nations in the world, all people in the world who wish to appear at his court must yield obedience to the rules of ceremony. They must prepare representations, stating who and what they are and from whence they come, after previous presentation of which only can audience be accorded them. Obey these commands.

" 24th day of the 3d moon of the 3d year of the Heavenly State of Tae-ping (28th April, 1854.)

" Note—No seal is affixed, because your petition of yesterday had none."

Owing to the improper mode in which the above document was couched, it was returned to them with a strong expression of dissatisfaction, at the very objectionable manner in which it was written. It was further stated to them in plain terms, that productions of this nature could not for an instant be tolerated by the British authorities, and I now wished it to be conveyed to the chiefs that the British Government had a treaty with the present dynasty, and that to enable them to learn the conditions of that treaty, and the true position of the English nation, I sent to the

chiefs a Chinese version of that treaty. After having thus conveyed my sentiments in a courteous, but unmistakeable manner, these two chiefs retired, and said we should hear from the shore next morning.

29th. Again the decks were crowded with visitors ; some, on going down amongst the men, observed some Josses (idols), that the men had picked up as curiosities, some of them from Rangoon, and intimated by gestures that these were very bad and useless. They gladly bartered jade-stone ornaments, or Cycee, for some double swords that the men had taken out of some piratical vessels that we had captured. I observed, on more than one occasion, when a youngster has asked to look at some ornament that a man was wearing, he has presented it to him, and has been most reluctant to take any article in return ; money they did not seem to value much.

I saw one respectable-looking man with a box of silver, perhaps £15 worth ; this he was offering for a musical snuff-box, if any one had such on board. I fancy he was unsuccessful, as I do not think there was anything of the kind on board.

Hundreds were amused by looking through our spy-glasses, and if not allowed to look, would good-humouredly take the glass out of our hands. Some went aloft, and all were more or less inclined to make

a noise in boyish glee, yet were very obedient when they could understand our signs ; except indeed they would not take No for an answer, in respect to coming on board;—come they must, and they boarded us from all points when the gangway was shut against them for meals. As they went into all parts of the ship in such numbers, it was necessary, both for the convenience of the men and to prevent the possibility of any disagreement, to put all out ; this was done in as kind a way as possible.

They conducted themselves in a frank and friendly way, towards all their bearing was quite different to that of any Chinese that we had ever met, so much so, that our men remarked it ; and had any one asserted ten days previously, that so many hundred Chinese would have been on board, and yet nothing having been stolen, not one in the ship but would have said, It is impossible ! Further, they did not hesitate to express surprize at the engines, or any other thing that struck them ; yet it has always appeared to me that it was contrary to the creed, it certainly was to the custom of Chinese, to appear in the least surprized about anything—they have always something “similar at Pekin.” Captain Shadwell calculated the time of one or two eclipses which were to occur, and had a translation of his statement made and sent to the

Chinese authorities. They answered, that they were much obliged to him, but that having transmitted them to their astronomical board at Peking, they found his deductions to agree with their own within a few seconds.

According to promise, a message was sent to say that one of their high chiefs was on his way to visit Sir George Bonham, and shortly after a large state-boat was seen making for the steamer. On coming on board he proved to be a chief of the name of Lae, and of the rank of second minister, or secretary of state.

Mr. Meadows, the interpreter, states in his report that Lae at once apologized for the tone of the mandate of the preceding day, saying it had been drawn up by persons ignorant of the fact that 'Wacheung-te' (foreign brethren) could not be addressed in the same style as native brethren. It was distinctly explained to him that while the English had, for nine hundred years, adored the Great Being, whom he called the Heavenly Father, they on earth acknowledged allegiance to but one Lord, the Sovereign of the British Empire; and that under no circumstances whatsoever, would they for an instant admit fealty to any other, though they were quite prepared to recognize as the Sovereign of the Chinese, whomsoever the Chinese themselves might

choose or submit to as such. After this had been fully assented to by Lae, "I stated to him," continues Mr. Meadows, "at considerable length, the circumstances of our desire to preserve neutrality, of our having no connexion with the vessels in the employ of the Mantchoo Government, &c., as had been done to the Northern and assistant Prince on the first interview.

After this it was arranged that Lae, or a lesser officer, Leang, who accompanied him, should be in attendance at the landing-place on the following day, at 11 A.M., with a sufficient number of chairs and horses to convey Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary, his suite, and some naval officers, to the residences of the Northern and Eastern Princes.

The next morning the weather being boisterous, Sir George Bonham apprehending that some difficulties in the way of ceremonial might interfere with the good feeling then apparently existing, sent an excuse.

The following communication was then prepared and sent by Mr. Meadows, accompanied by Mr. Woodgate, myself, and an officer of the *Hermes*.

"Hermes, off Nankin, April 30, 1853.

"I received yesterday your message conveyed through the ministers, sent on board for that purpose, to the effect that you were willing to receive me in the city,

in the event of my being desirous of paying you a visit. It was at first my intention to see you on shore, but the weather and other circumstances prevent my doing so, and therefore, I have to convey to you in writing the sentiments I should have communicated to you verbally, had I visited you. These sentiments are to the following effect :

“ Our nation, the British, have had commercial dealings with the Chinese at the port of Canton for upwards of two hundred years ; and about ten years back a Treaty of Peace and a set of commercial regulations were agreed on, whereby British merchants and other British subjects are entitled to erect houses and dwell with their families at the five ports of Canton, Amoy, Foo-chow, Ningpo, and Shanghai, and, on due payment of the tariff duties, to carry on an unrestricted commerce without let or hindrance. At each of the five ports, British Consular officers are stationed, specially charged with the authority over British subjects ; and I have had the honour to receive instructions from my sovereign, whereby I am stationed at Hong Kong, with the general control of British subjects and affairs at the five ports, and it falls within my province to arrange all international questions that arise between the two States. This state of things has continued without change for more than ten years. Recently,

however, it came to my ears that a contest was going on between the native Chinese and the Mantchoos, and that you, the Eastern Prince, had taken Nankin. A variety of reports, connected with the subject, were in circulation, and certain of the Mantchoo authorities had issued a proclamation to the effect that they had borrowed the services of ten or more steamers of Western nations, which would proceed up the Yangtze to attack your forces. This is altogether false. It is the established custom of our nation in no wise to interfere with any contests that may take place in the countries frequented by our subjects for commercial purposes. It is, therefore, totally out of the question that we should now in China lend the services of our steamers to give assistance in the struggle. Of the lorchas hired by the Mantchoo authorities, and the square-rigged vessels purchased by them, I know nothing. British merchant-vessels are not allowed to hire out their services for such contest ; but I cannot prevent the sale of vessels, the private property of British subjects, still less those of other nations, any more than I can prevent the sale of cotton manufactures or other merchandize, with which it stands on the same footing. Vessels once sold are, however, not permitted to hoist our national colours, and British subjects have no right to continue on board of the same in the ser-

vice of the Mantchoo authorities, and will, under such circumstances, receive no protection whatever from our Government. In short, it is our desire to remain perfectly neutral in the conflict between you and the Mantchoos. But our nation has a large establishment at Shanghai, of dwelling-houses, places for public worship, and warehouses, while the port is frequented by numbers of our vessels. You, on the other hand, have now reached Nankin, at no great distance from Shanghai, and we hear it reported that it is the intention of your forces to proceed to Soo-chow, Sung-keang, and the neighbouring places. Under these circumstances it becomes desirable to know by what spirit you will be actuated in your measures having relation to the British, in the event of your proceeding to Shanghai.

“ In conclusion, I have only to add, that it is my intention to proceed this afternoon a short distance up this river ; and as to-morrow is Sunday, and a day of rest, no business can be transacted before Monday, when I shall be again at this anchorage early in the morning, and ready to receive any reply that you may have to give to the above communication. At the same time, should you or any of the four Princes see fit to come, then on board to see the ship, I shall will-

ingly receive you, and promise you a suitable reception and a safe landing.

(Signed) "S. G. BONHAM."

The insurgents, true to their engagement, had the chairs and horses down to the landing-place at the appointed time ; but finding that no one came, their chiefs went away, and sent the chairs back to the city. However, the horses were allowed to remain ; and on our party landing, we had no difficulty in obtaining them.

We were guided into the city, to a house occupied as a Yamun, or public office, by the four officers next in rank below those called Princes, Lae being one of the number. We found that the latter had, after leaving the landing-place, gone to the Northern and Eastern Prince, and had not yet returned to his residence.

The first place we entered was an open court, where one of these four officers was sitting in judgment investigating a case of rape ; the place was crowded—the accusers and accused face to face—the woman was led out, we were told for early execution, with a rope round her neck, she having, as we understood, been proved to have been guilty of adultery. The crowd

subjected us to a little annoyance at first, but we were soon taken into an inner apartment.

We waited about an hour, during which time tea and other refreshments were offered us, and an officer came from Lae to apologise for his delay in appearing, and to beg us to attribute it to nothing but pressing business, and the fact of our not being expected; and not to any intention of slighting us.

Meanwhile we employed ourselves in asking the house-steward, and he us, questions. He proved to have been one of Ki-yin's attendants on the occasion of his signing the treaty; he mentioned the names of many of the officers that accompanied Sir Henry Pottinger, Lord Gough, and Sir William Parker. He was a fine portly fellow, six feet one or two inches in height, the largest Chinese I had ever seen. He was very polite to us. We were subsequently ushered into another room, where we were received by the Ching-seang, Lae's immediate superior, and three others.

They were dressed in long beautiful yellow silk capes with sleeves, with long hoods of the same material; the hood was stiffened out on the front part of the head with devices and letters, I suppose indicating the rank and title of the wearer; underneath these they had long loose robes reaching to the ankles,

composed of rich red silk ; long coloured boots with thick white leather soles, completed their dress.

One, he who had been sitting as judge, was a fine handsome man with a long brilliantly black beard, and rather an European countenance, somewhat Jewish—so European that Mr. Woodgate was much inclined to address him in French ; he was a calm dignified man, and took little part in the conversation which followed in reference to the letter and our seeing the Princes ; during this, Lae made his appearance. As far as I could understand, there was considerable difficulty raised on the question of etiquette, they wishing to insist upon our paying some extravagant honours to the Princes. He and the others pressed us very much to dine and sleep there that night, engaging to take us to the Northern and Eastern Princes on the following morning ; and I cannot but think that it is to be regretted that some of us did not remain. Others might have gone back to inform Sir George Bonham of the cause of our delay.

The letter was ultimately delivered to Lae, and we reached the ship just before dark.

The appearance and bearing of all those men gave me the idea that they were clever, decided, and determined, and from the constant solemn appeal to heaven to witness their assertion, or in reference to their

belief, they showed themselves to be under a settled conviction that their mission was from thence.

They were to a certain extent in public, and must keep up certain appearances, necessary to the Chinese regimen, which I dare say they could and would have laid aside in their more private apartments, and at their dinner-table. I observed that they never eat anything, whether it were offered to them on board, or on the occasion of their offering any to us, and it struck me that this arose from their custom of not eating without prayer, and that they did not know whether it would be deemed opportune by us. Had we had interpreters acquainted with religious phraseology, and had dined with them, we should have learnt much of a useful and most interesting kind ; it is even possible that much that now appears unsatisfactory in their creed and customs, as we understand them, would have been cleared up.

It is perhaps vain to regret ; all was done for the best ; it is now in the hands of a wise, over-ruling Providence, if they are true ; and I say this without having a shadow of doubt of them, for I never can believe that men can simulate the solemnity and seriousness of conviction which they shewed. I say if they are true, time will reveal it in their success, and we cannot hinder it if we would.

If they adopted the Chinese loftiness, they soon came down, for we left abruptly, at which they seemed disappointed, and came out in their robes amongst the crowd to obtain horses for us, and offered to obtain chairs if we would wait, and would not hear of any of us walking, as some wished to do. Numbers crowded round, but all were civil and good-humoured.

On the occasion of Lae's visit to the Hermes, I put a Chinese New Testament into his hand, of course without saying a word, as I could not speak Chinese, and the interpreter being absent conferring with Sir George Bonham, he read a few passages, and at once recognized what it was; and in a very serious and expressive way shewed me that he highly valued it. On the return of the interpreter, I asked him if he knew what it was? he said, "Yes; that it was the same as their own Scriptures." I then begged him to take it, with my compliments, to the Tae-ping, on which he rose from his seat and made me a profound bow, and, placing his hand upon his heart to indicate how much he felt obliged, then turned round to his attendant and gave it to him, with strict injunctions not to let it out of his hand;—he brought this to the meeting, possibly to refer to, and ask some questions. I subsequently gave him, for the same purpose, a Chinese

Bible, and an English one, published by the Naval and Military Bible Society ; for these he appeared also much obliged.

Yellow is the Imperial colour, and the form of their hoods is that which was in use during the reign of the Chinese dynasties.

The next day we had our usual number of visitors, and, amongst others, some officers who, I thought, shewed much more of the old mandarin feeling. It might have been that they meant only to express their feeling of superiority, thinking themselves more specially the favourites of heaven. Many that came were delighted at receiving copies of the Illustrated London News, and other papers.

Next day we weighed, and steamed up the river, to endeavour to communicate with the Imperialists, said to be investing Nankin. We soon observed the Imperial flotilla, of thirty vessels ; some of them were Canton gunboats ; on perceiving us, they all weighed, and moved higher ; finding that they could not get away, they opened fire upon us ; we had not expected this, and were not prepared, but soon cleared for action and anchored. We did not sheer over out of gunshot, well knowing that they would think we were afraid of them, and so have continued their fire. A mandarin, with a white button, came to inquire who we

were, and was told that we were neutral, but that the vessels would be sunk if they did not immediately desist. They soon stopped firing. We performed Divine Service. The commandant of this flotilla came on board, and informed us that the Imperial General, Heang-yung, was at a town called Tai-ping-foo, about twenty miles further up. The amount of his force was said to be 100,000 : more probably 20,000. The insurgents informed us that his advanced posts were close up to the walls ; the General kept a respectable distance. Keshen was said to have 10,000 on the northern bank of the river, no doubt also at a respectable distance from any opposing force. Later in the day, two inferior mandarins came on board, the first, a stupid fellow, from whom little or nothing could be extracted ; he was a Cantonese, and had been at Hong Kong ; when spoken to on the subject of Christianity, and when shewn one of the insurgent's books, he spat on it, and said those who believed in it were thieves. Mr. Meadows became, very justly, angry with him, and told him he had better behave himself, and that he had better be off,—at which he was much chap-fallen. The other seemed an intelligent and civil man ; he, on being questioned as to the cause of the movement, said, that Hung-sew-tseuen was a very clever man, and a candidate for literary honours, but that from

some improper motive he was rejected ; that he used to meet a number of others in Kwang-se for the worship of Yèsu, and that the mandarins prohibited their meeting ; stating, that “ they did not permit secret meetings, for the propagation of depraved doctrine ; ” they persisting, nevertheless, some of them were beheaded. The remainder took up arms, and that they commenced with only two hundred. We weighed anchor this evening, and returned to our old place off Nankin.

Mr. Meadows landed to arrange a visit to the celebrated Porcelain Tower, and found them swearing in some new adherents. They would not permit our visiting the Tower because it was outside the walls, and the Imperial troops were close up. Indeed they were having daily skirmishes. They might have had some little misgivings of what might happen, if the Imperialists made an attack while we were outside.

Next morning the lad who had been our guide from the city, and who had been off to the ship twice with Lae, brought a remarkable document written on yellow silk, accompanied by a letter, stating what it was. As he had left home very early, we gave him his breakfast, and during the period he waited, we had some conversation with him. He told us that the Tae-ping had thirty-six wives, the other officers twelve, eight, six, and four ; but that polygamy was not generally

allowed ; that the Tae-ping never appeared, but that his chair sometimes was taken out by thirty-six bearers : he might or might not be in it.

He being but an attendant on Lae, I doubted his having had the means of knowing much about the wives of the Tae-ping and the Princes, so had him asked whether these thirty-six women were small-footed : he said, large ; for that they had all been brought up from Kwang-se. On being asked how many wives Lae had ; he said, none ; but that he had had *one*, that she had been either captured or killed soon after leaving Kwang-se, and that he had never taken another.

From the difficulties they had to encounter it is highly improbable that a number of wives could have been brought out of Kwang-se, even for the chiefs, particularly as they fought their way by the side of their husbands ; and it is highly improbable that he would have known much of any of their households but of that of Lae, who does not appear to have availed himself of his actual privilege of one, much less of his avowed eight ; for such was his rank.

It must be observed, that though the Tartar Emperor has five hundred concubines, he charges it as a crime against the Tae-ping that he has thirty-six women ; at least this is the confession put in the

mouth of the alleged Tien-teh. "He was moreover addicted to wine and debauchery, having with him thirty-six women." It is more than probable that this boy had seen the proclamation, in which this charge was made, for it was posted wherever the Imperialists had been, and that his impression was drawn from it, as the Insurgents seem to take little pains to contradict the statements made against them.

The translation of the yellow silk document brought by this boy, together with other correspondence as given by Mr. Meadows, is as follows.

" 'We, Prince of the East, Yang, the Honae teacher, and the Master who rescues from calamity (an ecclesiastical title), Principal Minister of State, and Generalissimo; and

" 'Prince of the West, Seaou, Assistant Minister of State, and also Generalissimo, both subjects of the Celestial dynasty, now under the sway of Tae-ping truly commissioned by Heaven to rule; hereby issue a decree to the distant English, who have long recognized the duty of worshipping Heaven (God), and who have recently come into the views of our royal master, especially enjoining upon them to set their minds at rest and harbour no unworthy suspicions.

" 'The Heavenly Father, the Supreme Lord, the Great God, in the beginning created heaven and earth,

land and sea, men and things, in six days ; from that time to this the whole world has been one family, and all within the four seas brethren : how can there exist, then, any difference between man and man ? or how any distinction between principal and secondary birth ? But from the time that the human race has been influenced by the demoniacal agency which has entered into the heart of man, they have ceased to acknowledge the great benevolence of God the Heavenly Father in giving and sustaining life, and ceased to appreciate the infinite merit of the expiatory sacrifice made by Jesus, our Celestial Elder Brother, and have, with lumps of clay, wood, and stone, practised perversity in the world. Hence it is that the Tartar hordes and Elfin Huns so fraudulently robbed us of our Celestial territory (China). But, happily, Our Heavenly Father and Celestial Elder Brother have from an early date displayed their miraculous power amongst you English, and you have long acknowledged the duty of worshipping God the Heavenly Father and Jesus our Celestial Brother, so that the truth has been preserved entire, and the Gospel maintained. Happily too, the Celestial Father, the Supreme Lord and Great God, has now of His infinite mercy sent a heavenly messenger to convey our royal master the Heavenly King, up into heaven, and has personally endowed him with

power to sweep away from the thirty-three heavens demoniacal influences of every kind, and expel them thence into this lower world. And, beyond all, happy is it that the Heavenly Father and great God displayed His infinite mercy and compassion in coming down into this our world in the third month of the year Mowshin (1848), and that Jesus our Celestial Elder Brother, the Saviour of the world, likewise manifested equal favour and grace in descending to earth during the ninth month of the same year; where, for these six years past, they have marvellously guided the affairs of men, mightily exhibited their wondrous power, and put forth innumerable miraculous proofs, exterminating a vast number of imps and demons, and aiding our Celestial Sovereign in assuming the control of the whole Empire.

“ ‘But now that you distant English have not deemed myriads of miles too far to come and acknowledge our sovereignty; not only are the soldiers and officers of our Celestial dynasty delighted and gratified thereby, but even in high heaven itself our Celestial Father and Elder Brother will also admire this manifestation of your fidelity and truth. We therefore issue this special decree, permitting you, the English chief, to lead your brethren out or in, backwards or forwards, in full accordance with your own will or

wish, whether to aid us in exterminating our impish foes, or to carry on your commercial operations as usual; and it is our earnest hope that you will, with us, earn the merit of diligently serving our royal master, and, with us, recompense the goodness of the Father of Spirits.

“Wherefore we promulgate this new decree of (our Sovereign) Tae-ping for the information of you English, so that all the human race may learn to worship Our Heavenly Father and Celestial Elder Brother, and that all may know that, wherever our Royal Master is, there men unite in congratulating him on having obtained the decree to rule.

“‘A special decree, for the information of all men, given (under our seals) this 26th day of the 3rd month of the year Kweihaou (1st May, 1853) under the reign of the Celestial dynasty of Tae-ping.’”

“To this very extraordinary document,” says Sir George Bonham, “I returned the accompanying reply, which I deemed, under all circumstances, necessary, as the sooner the minds of these men are disabused in regard to their universal supremacy, the better for all parties.”

“I have received your communication, part of which I am unable to understand, and especially that portion which implies that the English are subordinate to your

Sovereign. Owing to its contents, I am now compelled to remind you that my nation, by Treaty entered into with the Chinese Government, has obtained the right of trading at the five ports of Canton, Foo-chow, Amoy, Ningpo, and Shanghai ; and that if you or any other people presume to injure, in any manner, the persons or property of British subjects, immediate steps will be taken to resent the injury in the same manner as similar injuries were resented ten years ago, resulting in the capture of Chin-keang, Nankin, and the neighbouring cities, and in the Treaty of Peace, the conditions of which you will have learnt from the copy sent to you the day before yesterday.

(Signed)

“ S. G. BONHAM.”

“ On passing Chin-keang-foo the following morning,” resumes Sir George Bonham, “ some junks and stockades opened fire upon us, and the steamer did, on this occasion, return the fire, but not until seven or eight shots had passed over the ship. The forts and batteries of Chin-keang, on the southern bank, followed the example of those on the northern shore, and were treated by us in the same manner. This firing, after the assurances given at Nankin, and the explanations and warnings conveyed at the very last interview with Lae, appeared to all exceedingly in-

comprehensible, and it was thought nothing but a mistaken notion of our intentions could have brought it about."

At the interview above alluded to, it seems that reference was made to the circumstance of the *Hermes* having been fired on when passing Chin-keang inwards, and Lae was told that this had been overlooked, solely because the circumstances under which the steamer appeared were certainly suspicious; but that as all parties had now been informed of our pacific intentions, any fire on the vessel would be at once returned. Lae replied that Sir George need give himself no thought on that score, as communications had, since the arrival of the steamer, been exchanged with Chin-keang, and the nature of the position of the English with regard to the insurrectionary movement was well known.

On reaching Silver Island, where the *Hermes* anchored for the purpose of visiting the island, signals were made from the shore, and a letter arrived on board from the principal chief at Chin-keang. This communication appears to have been written previously to the appearance of the steamer, and was thought by Sir George Bonham to have some reference to a letter sent from Tan-yang by Mr. Meadows, when

he made his former visit into the country, as already mentioned. The translation of it is as follows :—

“ Lo-ta-kang, Chief Director of the Palace, and Woo-joo-heaou, officer of one of the Boards, and general in the army, both imperially-appointed officers of the Celestial dynasty under the sway of Tae-ping, who has truly obtained the Heavenly decree to govern the empire, together address the following letter to the civil and military officers of the great English nation.

“ We humbly conceive that when the will of Heaven is fixed, man cannot oppose ; and when views and feelings are correct, corrupt imaginations cannot interfere therewith ; hence it is that honest birds select the tree on which they roost, and that virtuous ministers choose the Sovereign whom they intend to serve. But, alas ! these false Tartars have displayed their unruly dispositions in fraudulently depriving us of our lawful patrimony ; at home they have injured the subjects of our state, and abroad they have warred against foreign states. On a former occasion, your honourable nation, with upright views, marched into our territory, for which you had doubtless good and sufficient reason ; but the impish Tartars opposed your entrance, which the inhabitants of China viewed with displeasure ; but now our royal master has received the command of heaven to punish offenders, to show kind-

ness to foreigners, and harmonize them with the Chinese, not restricting commercial intercourse, nor levying transit duties on merchandize, while he leads forward his martial bands, to the number of hundreds of myriads, overcoming every opposition ; from which it is clear that the period has arrived when both Heaven and men unite in favouring his design, and faithful and brave warriors exert themselves on his behalf. But these fiendish Tartars, finding their strength gone, and their resources exhausted, have attempted to drive on your honourable nation to exert yourselves in their behalf, unabashed by the recollection that, on a former occasion when matters went easily with them, they made it their business to oppose you ; and now, when they are in extremities, they apply to you for succour, wishing to set our two nations at variance in order to avail themselves of any advantage arising therefrom. This, we presume, is already seen through by you.

“ We remember, moreover, how on a former occasion we, in conjunction with Bremer, Elliot, and Wanking (?), in the province of Canton erected a church and together worshipped Jesus, our Celestial Elder Brother ; all these circumstances are as fresh in our recollection as if they had happened but yesterday. We are grieved to hear that Bremer has met with

a misfortune, but we can never forget the nobleness of his character. As to Elliot and Wanking, we hope they have enjoyed health since we last met. As the trees of spring anticipate the gathering clouds, so we feel an irrepressible anxiety (to meet our old friends.) Thus when, a few days ago, we heard from the linguist, Mang Yaham (Mr. Meadows' teacher) that you conceived the idea of entering into friendly relations with us, we thought it right to prepare a letter, which we sent forward by the hand of a messenger. Yesterday, on observing that a ship belonging to your honourable nation had arrived, we concluded that it brought a letter for ourselves, on which account we stayed our military operations, and did not allow a gun to be fired, lest we should injure any of your troops. But finding that we were mistaken (as regards the bringing of a letter), we concluded that you had not received our former epistle; and therefore we again wish to exhibit our desire of cultivating friendly intercourse, and hope that you will take it into consideration; thus may we together obey the commands of our Heavenly Father, and unitedly aim at the merit of diligently sustaining our real monarch. Under the celestial dynasty, how can there be any boundaries to mutual understanding that should prevent us from unitedly attending to the duties of our officers, and

together enjoying the emoluments granted by the State?

"If, however, you still wish to lend your aid to the fiendish Tartars, and, regardless of the old grudge which you have against them, willingly allow yourselves to be infatuated by their roguish and stupid tricks, we wish that you would return an answer to that effect, that we may know your intentions. We Kwang and Heaou, make our obeisance.

"23rd day of the 3rd month of the year Kweihaou (April 28, 1853), being the third year of the reign of Tae-ping, Sovereign of the Celestial dynasty."

While a reply to the above letter was being prepared, some of the Insurgent officers and troops came down to the water's edge on the right bank, and made signs of a desire to communicate. Mr. Meadows says, "I was accordingly sent on shore, and found it was the Insurgent General Lo, who explained that the fire had been opened at Kwa-chow by mistake by some new troops, who were not aware of our having been in peaceful communication with their princes at Nankin. He stated that, on hearing the noise of the firing, he had hurried down from the city of Chin-keang to the stockades to stop it. I told him, as instructed, that her Majesty's Plenipotentiary was still willing to continue neutral, but that all acts of aggression would be

repelled by force, and might compel the British Government to side with the Mantchoos. He asked why we, who had an old enmity with the Mantchoos, and were on the other hand brethren of his party, inasmuch as we acknowledged the same God and Christ, did not rather aid the latter? I replied that it was an established rule of the British Government not to interfere with the internal struggles of foreign states: moreover, that though we had been at war with the Mantchoos, we had concluded a treaty of peace with them, and could not therefore take arms against them without breaking our plighted faith. He then introduced the subject of opium, saying we ought not to sell it. I replied that it was with the opium as with the vessels bought by the Mantchoo officials; the British Government took no cognizance of it, but left it to the Chinese authorities to deal with those found engaged in the traffic as they thought fit. I invited him to accompany me on board, assuring him of a safe landing whenever he pleased, but he declined. I then asked for one of his people to come in order to bring back the reply to his letter. Three volunteered at once, one of whom I found to be a Meou-tsze, or Independent Mountaineer, who stated that about 3000 of his people were in the ranks of the insurgents."

The following was Sir G. Bonham's reply to the letter of the insurgent chiefs :—

"Hermes," off Silver Island, May 3, 1853.

"Sirs,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, with which I have made myself fully acquainted.

"When the person you mention, named Mang-yo-han, returned to Shanghai, and I learnt that he had addressed you a letter, I appointed an officer to receive any communication you might send to that place, and then started in this war-steamer, with the view of having a personal conference with your chiefs. On reaching Ching-keang the vessel stopped, and a letter was written to announce the circumstance of her arrival; but before it had been despatched, the lorchas hired by the Mantchoo officials seized the opportunity to follow us, and commence an attack on your position. A postscript was therefore added, noting this circumstance; and we then proceeded on toward Nankin, after handing the letter to a boatman for delivery. Not a single gun was discharged in return of the fire directed by your people at Ching-keang and Kwa-chow against us; and, on being fired on again as we approached Nankin on the following day, we refrained, as before, from all return, though the fire was continued against us until a letter had been despatched on shore explan-

atory of our pacific intentions. We remained several days at Nankin, during which I notified by letter to your Eastern Prince my desire to remain perfectly neutral in the contest between the Chinese and Mantchoos ; but that steps must be taken to resent every injury that might be inflicted on the persons or property of my countrymen by your people. A similar declaration was made verbally to your Northern and Assistant Princes, and other chief authorities. Further, it was yesterday distinctly explained to your Keen-teen, Lae, that no offence had been taken at the fact of our having been fired at on our arrival, because I assumed ignorance, on your part, of our intentions ; but that in future every gun discharged against us would be returned. In reply, the functionary in question gave an assurance that communications had been made on the subject, and that a similar mistake would not take place on the *Hermes* repassing Ching-keang and the adjoining places. Nevertheless, to-day on approaching Kwa-chow, she was fired on so unexpectedly, that no preparation had been made with her guns to meet the attack ; and she did not begin to open her return fire till after the fourth or fifth shot had been discharged from your party. After the arrangements made at Nankin, I am totally at a loss to comprehend the meaning of this proceeding. I am,

however, still disposed to preserve neutrality ; but while stating this I have also to inform you, that by the established rule of our country all firing directed against us must, and will be, immediately returned.

“ I have to request that you will despatch copies of this letter to all your authorities at Nankin, Yangchow, and other places.

(Signed)

“ S. G. BONHAM.”

The above letter was sent on shore by one of the rebels who came off with Mr. Meadows, and an answer having been promised in a short time, it was determined that the steamer should wait two or three hours longer, within which time a reply came on board. Annexed is a translation of this document :—

“ Lo, Chief Director of the Palace, and Woo, officer of one of the Boards, and a General in the Army, both officers about the person of Tae-ping, the Sovereign of the Celestial dynasty, make this reply.

“ We have just received your note, and made ourselves acquainted with its contents. We have not seen any of the letters previously sent to us by you, nor have been aware that an officer of yours was in waiting at Shanghae ; had such letters, however, come to hand, we should doubtless have concurred in all the views expressed therein. As regards firing upon your vessel, we can only reply that as this is a time of war,

and as the impish vessels of those false Tartars are constantly on the move to spy about, while it is currently reported that they are borrowing aid in troops from you, we are obliged to be on the alert, to watch against the slightest show of danger, and to prevent the possibility of its accumulating upon us. Further than this, our officers and men were only aware that your vessel had passed up; they knew nothing of your having communicated with the Princes of our dynasty. The moment we heard the roar of cannon, we at once left the city to ascertain the cause, and we found that those who had opened fire upon you were fresh troops who had but yesterday been newly drafted to defend that spot; had they known the true state of the case, they certainly would not have fired as they did. Now that there is a clear understanding between us, and our public officers in all directions have been made acquainted with the fact, is it probable that you will be fired upon again?

“We would not trouble you with further explanation in the matter, but content ourselves with making you this reply as in duty bound, hoping that you will act as proposed in your letter under acknowledgment. A necessary communication.

“Written on the — day of the third month of the year Kweihaou (May, 1853), being the third year of the reign of Tae-ping, Sovereign of the Celestial dynasty.”

CHAPTER V.

REPUTED CRUELITIES OF THE INSURGENTS QUESTIONABLE—
USAGES—CONSISTENCY—TRUTHFULNESS—CANDOUR—
HATRED OF IDOLATRY—BISHOP OF VICTORIA'S OPINION
OF THEIR BOOKS—DR. MEDHURST'S OPINION—VISIT OF
FRENCH WAR STEAMER CASSINI—FURTHER INFORMATION.

It has been too generally believed that the insurgents were most sanguinary in their operations, and that like the followers of Mahomet, they propagated their faith (if this were possible) by the sword; this belief is in part founded upon the misrepresentations of the Imperialists, and partly, perhaps, upon their own proclamations, which stated that they would take the heads off the priests and Tartars.

As to propagating their faith by the sword, this is not correct; they do not compel any to join them: but they will not admit any to fellowship unless they profess the same religion, commit to memory the same form of prayer, and observe the same daily rules of

worship. The mere superscription of the Chinese character *shun*, "obedient," over the door of a house, is held a sufficient token of the submission of its inmates, and they have refused numbers upon the grounds of their not making profession of the same faith.

Their code of morals, chosen evidently from the Old Testament, and not suited to our habits or dispensation, is sanguinary, but is no doubt administered with justice and mercy as compared with any administration of law amongst the Imperialists; and it is probable that a law of such a character is necessary for the low and depraved state in which China is at present.

Some of the statements of their conduct are evidently a little figurative: thus it was the impression that they destroyed all the priests. Now on visiting Silver Island—a celebrated shrine of idolatrous worship—we found the priests there, and they stated that they had not been injured; they were given books, and informed that they must allow their hair to grow—their practice being to shave their heads.

The idols, it is true, were all destroyed; some of these must have been magnificent, made of clay, and forty or even sixty feet high. Those of wood or stone were defaced, and many thrown into the water.

Golden Island was another celebrated place of idol

worship, and there also the temples had been defaced. We observed the same in the suburbs of Nankin. The hostility was to the idols much less than to the temples ; but idolatrous emblems are always woven into these buildings in such a way that it is next to impossible to remove the evidences of idolatry and not injure the temple. The celebrated porcelain tower shared in some degree the general rage against idol-worship ; for, though it does not appear to have been erected with reference to worship, but in commemoration of an individual, yet many of its ornaments were idolatrous ; these, we were informed, were all destroyed, and as far as we could see with the aid of our glasses, the tower had been slightly defaced, though it was still standing. Fire had been the agent used in Golden Island.

Nor is it to be wondered at, that on awaking to a sense of the degradation their nation had been brought to by these priests and their idolatrous worship, they should be carried beyond the line of conduct which indifferent spectators would deem proper.

The city of Nankin is a walled city, said to have contained half a million of inhabitants. Its walls are high, and extend twenty-one miles ; but not more than a quarter of the indirect space was occupied with

houses : and these for the most part new in one corner—the remainder being gardens and fields.

It was said that the insurgents destroyed all the Tartars and their families to the number of twenty or twenty-five thousand. This I do not credit—not that I pretend to say what they would have done—but I think this is too much built upon the evidence of the boy-attendant of Lae's—intelligent though he was, and to be relied on, as far as his knowledge could enable him to speak. But the fact is, as I think, that the greater part were seized with the panic which appears to seize all on the approach of the insurgents, and had fled ; for the houses gave conclusive proof that the city had not only been abandoned of its inhabitants, but that they had taken all their furniture and other removable property out with them ; for had it been simply removed from the houses and thrown into the streets, we should have seen some remnants. It was quite remarkable how completely street after street and house after house were emptied, and with few exceptions. Again, we saw many people as we passed along, carrying back their furniture, as they did at Shanghae ; confidence having returned. We saw a few houses sealed up, and from their appearance they were the houses of rich people ; the silk looms also seem to have been left. These they would naturally sup-

pose would not be injured by the insurgents ; the more particularly as they had always studiously avoided any thing that affected trade ; and it is owing to this care that our export trade has been so little interrupted.

Indeed, it is evident that the policy of Tae-ping, and his followers, is to protect the people, but make war, even "to the knife," against the Tartar authorities.

A further reason for doubting the correctness of those statements, as to the wholesale destruction of the Mantchoos in Nankin, is, that it was stated in the Pekin Gazette, that the Emperor had commanded pensions to be given to the wives of those Tartar soldiers that had lost their lives in Nankin ; consequently, some must have escaped to ask for and obtain the pensions alluded to.

The insurgent army, as it appeared to us, was for the most part composed of young men. Many of these were mere boys, and yet they were doing the duty of men ; they used to cross the river, a dozen at a time, to destroy junks floating down the stream, land, and drive hundreds of the peasantry before them, as if they were so many sheep.

They adopt the ten commandments, translated by themselves, — perhaps from less perfect Chinese, — to

which they appended annotations ; thus they state, under the seventh commandment, that smoking opium is always associated with adultery, and must be discontinued. They behead for smoking or selling opium, and bamboo for smoking tobacco. They are Iconoclasts, and destroy every vestige of idol-worship. They circulate tracts, drawn from the Scriptures by themselves. They are generally called "worshippers of Yèsu." Roman Catholics are called worshippers of Tien-chu ; one or two told us that they were worshippers of Tien-chu, by which I understood them to say that they were different from others of the movement, and they appeared not to wish it to be generally known that they said so ; it might be that they meant to say merely that they had been such, until they had joined the movement.

They have no priests—they stated that they needed none, as all were priests or teachers in their respective stations ; yet they have people amongst them with ecclesiastical titles. They may not have understood the question ; as I have no doubt there is a difficulty in putting such questions into Chinese, and when put, it requires time and circumlocution before they are understood. Some few spoke a very little English, learnt at Hong Kong and Canton ; some said they had been at school at the former place. They said they

had men amongst them who could translate the English edition of the Scriptures into Chinese. One said, on going down amongst our men, that he was a Protestant; several said they were of the same religion as us; others, that they were of the ten commandments' religion, the same as the schools at Hong Kong; and one said he was of the same religion as King Victoria.

They are very severe for any infraction of morals, and separate the sexes to prevent improprieties of any kind. It appears, that up to their arrival at Nankin, the wives fought side by side with their husbands; but that, on arriving at Nankin, they agreed to separate till they should have won the Empire, to effect which, they gave themselves twelve months. Hence it was that Dr. Taylor did not see any females at Chiang-kiang-foo. The women were placed in a separate part of Nankin, and placed under instruction; this part was styled the women's quarter, and it was death to enter it, except such persons as were appointed for the purpose of instructing them.

They hold an open court, confronting litigants:—not so in the old Chinese courts, where they nearly always have recourse to tortures. They style the army the holy army, and have changed the name of Nankin to Tien-king, or Holy city. Nankin, I fancy, means North city. They style each other brethren, and us

foreign brethren. They have removed the queues, as a badge of slavery imposed by the Tartars.

They quite look upon themselves as favourites of Heaven, and are proportionally sanguine of success ; yet they did not neglect any precaution to ensure it, but were fortifying when we were there, with remarkable diligence and judgment. I saw them carrying some very good twenty-four pounders into exceedingly well-chosen positions, to cover where they had entered ; and the breach in the walls which they themselves had established, they had had repaired.

They are men of their word ; a Chinaman, describing this characteristic difference from other Chinamen, said, " If they say they will give you twenty blows of a bamboo, make up your mind they will not stop short at nineteen, come what may of it."

They are most frank in their manner, quite unlike what we are accustomed to in Chinese.

They hold the Imperialists cheap, and I think it more than probable that they know that the Imperialist's soldiers do not care to do more than make a shew of fighting. In fact, there is almost an understanding amongst them, and this will become more so, as their success increases.

I rode with an interpreter about twelve miles, and must have passed many thousand people carrying rice,

furniture, clothes, guns, &c.; and the interpreter assured me that he only heard one expression that could offend the nicest ear, whereas one can hardly move as many paces elsewhere, without hearing many; indeed, I am told the very children use the grossest expressions, in their ordinary play.

It was obvious to the commonest observer that they were practically a different race. They had Gutzlaff's edition of the Scriptures, at least, they told us so; we know they had twenty-eight chapters of Genesis, for they had reprinted thus much, and gave us several copies; and some of them were practical Christians, and nearly all seemed to be under the influence of religious impressions, though limited in their amount. They believed in a special Providence, and believed that this truth had had a practical demonstration in their own case. That though they had had trials and had incurred dangers, these were to punish and to purify. They had also successes, such as they could have had only by God's special interference.

They referred, with deep and heartfelt gratitude, to the difficulties they had encountered, and the deliverances which had been effected for them, when they were but a few, and attributed all their success to God.

"They," said one speaking of the Imperialists, "spread all kinds of lies about us," alluding to the *alleged*

confession of Tien-teh ;—" they say we employ magical arts. The only kind of magic we have used is prayer to God. In Kwang-se, when we occupied Young-nan, (the place where Tien-teh was said to have been captured) we were sorely pressed ; there were then only some 2000 or 3000 of us, we were beset on all sides by much greater numbers ; we had no powder left, and our provisions were all gone ; but our Heavenly Father came down and shewed us the way to break out. So we put our wives and children in the middle, and not only forced a passage, but completely beat our enemies."

After a short pause he added : " If it be the will of God that our Prince of Peace shall be sovereign of China, he will be the sovereign of China ; if not, then we will die here."

The man who used this language of courageous fidelity to the cause, in every extreme, and of confidence in God, was a shrivelled-up, elderly, little person, who made an odd figure in his yellow and red hood ; but he could think the thoughts, and speak the speech of a hero. He and others like him, have succeeded in infusing their own sentiments of courage and morality to no slight extent into the minds of their adherents. This old man was one of the chiefs, and came off to the *Hermes* as an ambassador.

They appeared to me to adhere strictly to the truth, regardless of how it affected their interests ; thus they did not hesitate to say that their leader had no connexion with, and was not descended from the Ming dynasty, as had been said, and seemed to be quite indifferent to the influence which they would lose by this denial, for the idea was not without its weight. Thus the insurgents at Amoy declared for Tien-teh, stating that he was descended of the Ming dynasty, and all the Triads were committed by their organization to support the claims of that dynasty.

The quiet self-possession and confidence of the leaders we came in contact with, was quite un-Chinese. When it was told them a second time that we should in future return their fire, they seemed to think that we wished to frighten them, and said, " Well, do as you please ; we are not afraid." Another time they said, " If you are come to assist us, we shall be glad ; but do as you please ! we are independent of your assistance ; only if you are going to join the Mantchoos, be good enough to let us know." And when told if they came to Shanghae and attacked any of our people there, they would be treated as the Mantchoos were in 1842, they said, " But why should we fire upon you ; we are brethren, and worship the same God ? "

Their policy is only to be known by first knowing

their religion ; and this, because of imperfectly understanding their language, we are not clear about. On the interpreter's first visit he endeavoured to explain to one of the princes the power and resources of England ; he said, " We don't want to know that ; we want to know your religion."

Dr. Taylor, an American missionary from Shanghae, visited the Insurgents at Chiang-kiang-foo, after we had been there.

In consequence of going up in a Chinese boat, he experienced some difficulties in passing the Imperial flotilla, and in reaching the Insurgent outposts ; but was well received, and addressed as " brother." When taken to Lo, the general, he found him in undress, quite unlike the formal style of Chinese officials, so much so, that he doubted his being the man they represented him to be ; however, Lo was soon invested with his yellow cape and hood, and red silk undergarment ; after which, Dr. Taylor presented him with several copies of the Scriptures, which he said were " very good," and the same as those they had, but remarked on their date being from the 1st year of Heen-fung, as being " nonsense, and somewhat offensive to them," of course, as they dated from the accession of Hung-seu-tseuen, or, more properly, Tae-ping-

wang which is the style of the dynasty : probably it was unwise not to make some remark upon the subject.

Lo, however, entertained him hospitably, gave him an escort and guide to go round the city and suburbs ; he visited many of their guards ; they had no uniform, but had the badge of Tae-ping's arms sewn upon their own dresses ; many had their hair bound with a bit of red or yellow silk, in a kind of knot on the top of the head, (this is the old Chinese style of dressing the hair). They were mostly armed with spears and swords, few had matchlocks ; he also observed that great numbers were boys.

Their batteries and stockades were well provided with guns. Their flags were numerous, inscribed with the name of their chief, and the letter of the new dynasty ; the numbers were uniformly stated to him as being 50,000 or 60,000, at Chiang-keang, which I can well believe, from the great numbers we saw spread over so large an extent of ground on both sides of the river.

There was perfect subordination and discipline. The people had deserted the city before they took it, which presented a scene of utter desolation ; the doors and shutters of all the shops and dwellings having been taken to form stockades along the river.

The temporary stockades were being taken down,

and replaced by well-built heavy walls of brick and stone. Beyond the workmen engaged in this avocation, and the blacksmiths and carpenters making war-like implements, there did not appear to be any other labour being done.

The insurgents had abundance of fresh provisions, which were brought in clandestinely by the inhabitants of the surrounding district.

On leaving, he was escorted by several hundred soldiers beyond the city walls, and was given a letter which was addressed to the foreign residents at Shanghai, which was to the following effect.

“Lo, the fifth arranger of forces, attached to the palace of the celestial dynasty of Tae-ping, who has received the command of Heaven to rule the empire, communicates the following information to all his English (foreign) brethren. On the 1st day of the 5th moon (the 5th of June) a brother belonging to your honourable nation, named Charles Taylor, brought hither a number of books, which have been received in order. Seeing that the above-named individual is a fellow-worshipper of God (Shang-te), he is therefore acknowledged as a brother. The books, likewise, which he has brought, agree substantially with our own ; so that it appears we follow one and the same road. Formerly, however, when a ship belonging to

your honourable nation came hither (the *Hermes*), she was followed by a fleet of impish vessels belonging to the false Tartars; now also, when a boat from your honourable nation comes among us, the impish vessels of the Tartars again follow in its wake. Considering that your honourable nation is celebrated for its truth and fidelity, we, your younger brothers, do not harbour any suspicions. At present both Heaven and men favour our design, and this is just the time for setting up the Chinese and abolishing the Tartar rule. We suppose that you, gentlemen, are well acquainted with the signs of the times, so that we need not enlarge on that subject; but while we, on our parts, do not prohibit commercial intercourse, we merely observe that since the two parties are now engaged in warfare, the going to and fro is accompanied with inconvenience; and, judging from the present aspect of affairs, we should deem it better to wait a few months, until we have thoroughly destroyed the Tartars, when, perhaps, the subjects of your honourable nation could go and come, without being involved in the tricks of these false Tartars. Would it not, in your estimation, also be preferable? We take advantage of the opportunity to send you this communication for your intelligent inspection, and hope that every blessing may attend

you. We also send a number of our own books, which please to circulate among yourselves."

Dr. Taylor was present at their worship, which he describes as consisting of chanting hymns and doxologies in a very solemn manner, whilst those engaged in it remained seated. After which all kneeled, apparently with much reverence, closing their eyes, while one of their number uttered an audible prayer. The chanting was accompanied with the usual dissonant instruments employed by the Chinese at their festivals.

These acts of worship were repeated twice or thrice a-day, and included in them the grace before meat; and immediately afterwards they proceeded to the tables without further ceremony. Dr. Taylor saw no females, and on making inquiry was informed they were all at Nankin. He saw tables placed with bowls of various kinds of food, as offerings to the Supreme Being; among which were three bowls of tea, one for each person of the Trinity.

In reply to frequent inquiries as to when, and in what direction, they would next move, he was informed that they could not tell themselves, but must wait for intimations from their Heavenly Father. He heard Tae-ping-wang frequently mentioned, but no allusion made to Tien-teh.

Dr. Taylor was struck with the calm and earnest enthusiasm that pervaded the entire body, and the perfect confidence they evinced in the justice of their cause, and in its final success. On his asking the chiefs when they proposed to come towards Shanghae ; they replied, whenever they received an intimation from the Heavenly Father ; as they never moved in any quarter without such direction.

One of the Meou-tsze, who came off with Mr. Meadows, was their chief, and joined with 3000 of his people. These are a people who live in the mountainous districts of Que-chew and Kwang-see, and who have never submitted to the Tartar yoke, nor had they adopted the customs imposed on the rest of the Chinese race, and therefore never had had their hair shaved in front, or wore a queue.

This man stated, on my asking how they had come by the Scriptures, that his people had had them about two hundred years. (This, it must be observed, is about the period the present Tartar Dynasty had ruled over China ; in 1644, the last of the Chinese Dynasty of the Mings ceased to reign.) On further questioning him, he stated that these Scriptures had come down from heaven about two thousand years before, and that they were the same as the rest of the insurgents had : that they had been taken to Peking about a thousand

years since, and that it was thence his people had obtained them.

These people seem naturally hostile to the Mantchoos, because of the continual persecutions they had been subject to ; and if his statement be true—which I think there is much in support of—there can be no difficulty in understanding either the imperishable character of their community and principles, or the hostility of the Mantchoo idolaters.

The period he mentions would carry us back to the time of Olopen ; and the Nestorian missions, mentioned on the celebrated stone found by the Jesuit missionaries in 1645, near Singanoo, the capital of Shen-si. It speaks of the building of the churches in the provinces ; and it might well be supposed that on the persecutions which followed on the establishment of dynasties that supported idolatry, those who had imbibed sentiments and civilization alien to its whole spirit, would have taken shelter in some such fastnesses as are afforded by the mountains of Kwang-se and Que-chew. There seems to be colour in Chinese history for the belief that Christians were deported from the capital to these distant and independent principalities. There can be no doubt that Christianity was openly professed in these districts later than in any other part of China : whence it came, or what

its distinctive character, matters not now, further than to admit that this may have been a determining cause in the rejection of idolatry, and in accepting, when other causes were concurrent, Christianity. The point is rather to ascertain what is the character and value of that which obtains amongst them now, and that which has been so influential in producing results that nothing but the profession of Christianity and God's blessing upon it could have produced.

Some of the foregoing statements have been confirmed by other witnesses.

Dr. Medhurst mentions having met a Chinese at Shanghae, who had been in Tae-ping's camp, but had left it because the "puritanical restrictions and moral prohibitions were too great for his weak nature;" and in stating it, assures us of his belief in his candour and sincerity.

According to this man's statements, the books of Buddha and of Taou were indiscriminately destroyed; while even the Confucian classics, and works of ancient history, appear to be subject to Tae-ping-wang's censorship, and to be published only in an *altered*, i. e. (as we may presume) an adapted and Christianized version. "As for the priests, they dared not show their faces; and together with gamblers, opium-smokers and whoremongers, were scattered to the four

winds. There was no use in talking about such, as they were utterly exterminated."

"As early as 1852, not only were there six kings, (wang) with Tae-ping-wang at their head, sustaining the responsibility of the military control, the civil direction, and the religious arrangements of the host, but there were also (and a similar extemporized ecclesiastical constitution, doubtless, also now prevails) twelve *Kwoh-sze*, national teachers, whose distinctive office it was to administer baptism; subordinate to them were twenty-four chang-haou 'presbyters,' or elders, for each division of the camp—being above two hundred elders in all for the whole army. It was the distinctive work of the elders to afford daily instruction, and to report fit subjects for baptism to superior national teachers or 'priests.' These last-named officers administer baptism, which is performed by dipping the face in a vessel of water, or by pouring water on the head,—an invocation of the Trinity accompanying the rite."

Before leaving Nankin they furnished us with many copies of books which they had published, and of which they appear to have had a large store, as they circulated them by every possible means; they were seen by some officers of the *Hermes*, in boats that they

had sent off to drift down the river amongst the Imperial flotilla.

I give the estimate formed of these by the writer in the Calcutta Review, in his own words :—

“ There are important questions which we have to consider respecting the character of the religion of the insurgents : *e. g.*, Are its doctrines essentially those of the Christian religion ? Do the elements of truth preponderate over those of error ? Are the defects, which may be observable among them, such as constitute a reasonable ground for condemning the whole movement as one of unmingled evil and the work of Satanic power ? Or, on the other hand, are they the natural shortcomings of a body of imperfectly enlightened men, placed in a situation of novel difficulty, labouring under almost unexampled disadvantages in their pursuit of truth, without spiritual instructors and guides, with only a few copies of the Holy Scriptures, and those apparently in small, detached, and fragmentary portions, with no forms of prayer or manuals of devotion, having their time distracted amid the arduous toil of a campaign and the work of religious proselytism, with no definite views or clear knowledge respecting the Sacraments, the Christian ministry, or the constitution of a church—engaged in a struggle for life and death—and yet, amid all these hindrances and

drawbacks, evincing a hopeful, praiseworthy, and promising vigour of mind and independence of action, in the great undertaking of a moral revolution of their country ?

“ We do not hesitate to assert that ours is the latter and the more favourable view. Fully sensible of the possible difficulties which missionaries may hereafter experience in their dealings with a body of Native Christians who have been called by the course of circumstance to strike out a peculiar path for themselves—we nevertheless incline to the hope that more unrestricted intercourse with European Christians will hereafter correct their misconceptions on a few points of doctrine and practice. Even the perceptible errors of the Tae-ping religious manifestoes are to be viewed with indulgence, and ought not to be deemed a positive and deliberate abnegation of Christian truth, but rather as the enunciation of unintentionally defective and imperfect views. The absence of any protest against the national polygamy of China is not to be wondered at in those who read of the practice in this particular, of faithful Abraham, the friend of God. Their material offerings presented to each person of the Trinity, may be nothing more than a well-intentioned, though erroneous, transference of their former Pagan modes of honouring false gods to the service of

the one true God ; or may have been in the infancy of their religious knowledge, borrowed from the institution of shew-bread in the Jewish tabernacle. The isolated passage, which appears to involve a denial of the Trinity, is one in which the rival-emperor renounces the proud titles of former Chinese Monarchs, because their usage would be an encroachment upon the peculiar terms of honour applicable only to the great God (Shang-te), coupled with the assertion that even Jesus the Saviour of the world is called only *lord* (Choo) and not *God* (Te.)* But this is a very different

* It has been customary in native compositions, whenever the Chinese names or titles of the Emperor occur, to commence a new column as a mark of honour, and to place the Imperial name higher in the page by the space of two Chinese words. The name of the Supreme Being is similarly honoured, but has the distinction of being raised three spaces in the page. An interesting modification of this usage is perceptible in the Imperial proclamations and manifestoes of Tae-ping-wang. The name of the Almighty God the Father is elevated three spaces,—that of Jesus Christ is raised two spaces,—and the Imperial name and titles of Tae-ping-wang himself are lowered one degree from the customary position, and receive the elevation of only one space. As minds are differently biassed, this fact will be differently judged. To us, however, it appears an indication that the insurgent leaders, although viewing Jesus Christ as inferior to the Father as touching his humanity, recognize his superiority to the most exalted of earthly potentates as touching His divinity.

While the Imperial titles are raised by only one space, it is in-

assertion from that of the Socinian, who denies the Atonement of our Lord. If copies of the New Testament had been extensively circulated among them, the confession of Thomas would doubtless have been that of the religious leaders among the insurgents—"My lord, and my GOD!" It will be seen that theirs is rather an imperfect and partial insight into evangelical

teresting to observe that in their list of authorized books (published as a Preface to each volume) with the Imprimatur of Tae-ping-wang—the words "Old" and "New Testament" each receive *an elevation of three spaces* in the enumeration,—whereas Tae-ping-wang's name, even when forming a portion of the title of books of their own original composition, is only raised by *one space*. This seems to be a plain recognition of the paramount divine authority of the Holy Scriptures as *God's book*, above books of human authorship, and suggests the hope that where so vital an element of essential truth is present—errors will be rectified and defects expurgated, by the general circulation and perusal of the word of God, as the best and surest corrective of imperfect views on the more mysterious doctrines of the Gospel. The portions of Holy Scriptures, which they have already published, exceed in quantity of contents all the other books, which are of their own composition, added together. In the books recently brought from Nankin, there is an impression in red ink, from a large moveable die or stamp, with the two characters, CHE CHUN, "THE IMPERIAL WILL PERMITS"—surrounded by the usual Imperial symbols. This Imprimatur is stamped upon the first page of the text in every book. With such a fact as this before us, every unprejudiced mind will perceive that there is a new era of hope for the Chinese Empire.

truth, than a positive and dogmatic asseveration of anti-Christian error. The most unexceptionable statements of religious truth abound in their books ; and there are some passages even of eloquent sublimity in these effusions of the insurgent chiefs. Commencing with the earliest periods of Chinese history, they dwell with patriotic earnestness on the fact that China herself once possessed a more correct knowledge and a purer worship of the one Supreme Being. They speak of the worship of the one God (Shang-te) by the great ancestors of the Chinese race, and dwell on the effects of subsequent deterioration, by which they fell into the wicked custom of worshipping depraved spirits (shin). They speak of the further lapse from demonolatry into idolatry, and expose the folly of worshipping creatures of wood and stone, rather than the great God (Shang-te), the Creator and Preserver of the world. In their various original forms of daily prayer, they acknowledge the fall of man, the depravity of the human heart, the universal liability of mankind to condemnation, the divine method of recovery through the atoning death of Jesus, and the need of the enlightening and sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit. They speak of diabolical agencies as a grave reality, against which they are to be constantly watchful unto prayer ; and they give a prominent importance

to the work of the Holy Spirit on the heart, as the great Almighty Agent in man's renovation. They acknowledge with high-minded candour, that Christianity, so far from being viewed with prejudice as the religion of foreigners, ought rather to be regarded with approval as a return towards the primitive simplicity of Chinese patriarchal worship, and a disencumbering of the national religion of those later corruptions, which demonolatry and idolatry had introduced.

“Some also say erroneously, that to worship the great God (Shang-te) is to imitate foreigners; not remembering that China has her histories, which are open to investigation. From the time of Pwan-koo” (the first man of whom the Chinese speak) “down to the period of the three dynasties, both princes and people honoured and worshipped the great God (Shang-te.)”

“The fact is, that, according to the histories of both the Chinese and foreign nations, the important duty of worshipping the great God, in the early ages of the world, several thousand years ago, was practised alike both by Chinese and foreigners. But the various foreign nations in the West have practised this duty up to the present time; while the Chinese only practised it up to the Tsin and Han dynasties; since which

time they have erroneously followed the devil's ways, and allowed themselves to be deceived by the king of Hades. Now, however, the great God, out of compassion to the children of men, has displayed His great power, and delivered men from the machinations of the Evil One, causing them to retrace their steps, and again to practise the great duty which was performed of old."

Equally clear and decided is their recognition of the fall of the Chinese nation into the depths of ignorance and sin against God, and the need of a revelation of the divine method of man's recovery.

"Who has ever lived in the world without offending against the commands of heaven? But until this time no one has known how to obtain deliverance from sin. Now, however, the great God has made a gracious communication to man; and from henceforth whosoever repents of his sins in the presence of the great God (Shang-te) and avoids worshipping depraved spirits (shin), practising perverse things, or transgressing the divine commands, may ascend to heaven, and enjoy happiness for thousands and myriads of years in pleasure and delight, with dignity and honour, world without end."

Again, however indistinctly the Divinity and Atonement of our Lord are sometimes alluded to in their

writings, there are other passages in which that fundamental doctrine of the Gospel is declared in its full proportions and prominence. In the *Ode for Youth*, the probable Text-Book hereafter of the children of every Chinese official throughout the eighteen provinces, in the event of China being ruled by a professedly Christian Emperor—there occurs the following lines in metrical verse on

REVERENCE TO JESUS.

“ Jesus His first-born Son
 Was in former times sent by God,
 He willingly gave his life to redeem us from sin.
 Of a truth his merits are pre-eminent.
 His Cross was hard to bear,
 The sorrowing clouds obscured the sun ;
 The adorable Son, the honoured of heaven,
 Died for you, children of men.
 After his resurrection He ascended to heaven,
 Resplendent in glory, He wields authority supreme.
 In Him we know that we may trust,
 To secure salvation and ascend to heaven.”

The term “ Celestial Elder Brother ” is often applied by the insurgent leader to Jesus ; but those who are familiar with Chinese ideas and modes of expression, will know that there is nothing derogatory in that phrase. The term “ children of God,” is also in the Holy Scriptures applied to all true believers, who

are "heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ." "For which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren." The only extravagance of idea in the mind of the chief, is the occasional symptom of his deeming himself to be a "son of God" in a particular sense, as commissioned and sent by God to accomplish the work of a National Reformation. In one of the publications there is also a revolting familiarity in his description of heavenly scenes, and his reference to the "wife" of Jesus. But there are not a few passages in the New Testament, in which our Lord calls himself the "bridegroom," and his church the "bride." By a well-instructed mind, these figurative expressions are in no danger of being misunderstood. But such a passage as the following, memorized by a newly-converted Pagan, or read from the New Testament, might easily be wrested from its allegorical representation of the relation between Christ and his church, and be regarded as a literal picture of heaven and its inhabitants:—"Let us be glad and rejoice and give honour to him; for the marriage of the Lamb is come; and his *wife* hath made herself ready. And to her was granted that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white."

But such defects as these are but the exceptional blemishes, and are not irremediable under the more

favourable circumstances hereafter of a foreign missionary influence. Amidst all the errors, enthusiasm and defect of these religious manifestoes, they give forth to the reading population of China such sentiments of moral and religious truth as never before sounded in the ears of this people. With one blow they demolish the superstitious distinction between lucky and unlucky days, and pronounce a blessing upon every season as alike fortunate, which has been consecrated by prayer to their Father in heaven. Each person of the Trinity is acknowledged in his appropriate office, as bearing a part in the work of a soul's salvation. The Sabbath is sanctified as the holy day of the Lord. Thanksgivings are offered up at each meal, to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. Time would fail us, and the limits of this article forbid us, to enter into the detailed proofs which might be derived from lengthened quotations. The following extract will suffice to show that the great scheme of redemption has been set forth in their books ; and that, instead of meriting such criticisms as those observable in some of the public prints, dealing to them the deprecatory epithets of Mahomedan, Mormonite or Unitarian, they claim our sympathies as propagating the great and prominent truths of a Protestant and Trinitarian Christianity. We may

preface our closing quotation with the words of the Rev. Dr. Medhurst, of Shanghae, one who, after thirty years of Chinese studies, has had full opportunities of appreciating all that deserves appreciation in the ancient classical literature of China. He speaks of the following hymn in these strains : —

“These lines constitute the redeeming feature of the whole book ; they deserve to be written in letters of gold, and we could desire nothing better for the Chinese, than that they were engraven on every heart. This one hymn is worth the four books and the five classics of the Chinese all put together.”

The “ Book of religious precepts of the Tae-ping dynasty ” contains, in the form of a hymn, this plain avowal of the Atonement of Christ and the way of salvation :—

“ How different are the true doctrines from the doctrines of the world !

They save the souls of men, and lead to the enjoyment of endless bliss !

The wise receive them with exultation, as the source of their happiness :

The foolish, when awakened, understand thereby the way to heaven.

Our heavenly Father, of His great mercy and unbounded goodness,

Spared not His first-born son, but sent Him down into the world,

To give His life for the redemption of all our transgressions,
The knowledge of which, coupled with repentance, saves the
souls of men."

Dr. Medhurst also prepared a summary of their publications for the use of the government.

Of the Book of Religious Precepts, he says, " This is decidedly the best production issued by the insurgents.* The reasoning is correct, the prayers are good, the ceremonies enjoined (with the exception of the offerings) are unobjectionable ; the Ten Commandments agree in spirit with those delivered by Moses, and the hymns are passable. The statements of the doctrines of human depravity, redemption by the blood of Jesus, and the renewal of the heart by the influence of the Holy Spirit, are sufficient to direct any honest inquirer in the way to heaven. If this were the only pamphlet issued by the insurgents, or if they were all like this, we should sincerely rejoice in the movement, and wish it success."

" The Ode for Youth," he says, " gives some admirable lessons regarding the honour due to God, who is the Creator and Father of all. It sets forth in very clear terms the coming of Jesus into the world for the salvation of men by the shedding of His blood on the cross, and then goes on to detail the duties that are

* Of their own composition, he of course means.

required of us as parents and children, brothers and sisters, husbands and wives, relatives and friends ; concluding with instructions as to the management of the heart and external senses. Altogether it is an excellent book, and there is not a word in it which a Christian missionary might not adopt, and circulate as a tract for the benefit of the Chinese."

"The Revelations of the Heavenly Father during His descent on earth, details the examination and detection of a traitor, on whom they were about to confer an appointment, when the Father is said to have come down from heaven in person, on purpose to arraign and cross-question the delinquent, and having brought his reason to light, to have returned to heaven."

"There is no word of their having seen any form ; but the idea of the Father's presence seems to have been impressed upon the minds of the bystanders."

This is the most unsatisfactory document that has emanated from them.

"The Book of Celestial Decrees, purports to be a collection of communications from God our Heavenly Father, and Jesus our elder brother. This is little, if any thing, superior to the preceding work."

Their almanac appears to be in some measure founded upon that originally prepared for the Chinese

by the Jesuits, but prepared by those who did not know much on the subject, and therefore they have adopted 366 days—the almanac copied from, having been one for Leap Year. They however stated in contradistinction to the ordinary Chinese almanac, that there are not any such things as lucky days, “as whosoever shall with a true breast reverence the Heavenly Father, the High Lord God, will be looked upon by Him with complacency, and whatsoever times such please to attend to their business, will be lucky and fortunate to them.”

The pamphlet entitled “The Regulations for the Army of the Tae-ping Dynasty,” is very remarkable for the complete organization which it shows to exist amongst them, and for the very enlightened regulations it establishes for the treatment of the people amongst whom they may be.

The insurgent soldiers are provided with all necessities from a common fund, from which also is paid them a small but fixed sum with a punctuality that places them in very favourable contrast with the Mantchoo rulers; and it was quite evident that their discipline was very strict.

The Northern Prince came down to the quay just before we left Nankin; and though there were some hundreds throwing up breastworks and erecting stock-

ades, they did not take the slightest notice of him, but continued their work as if their life depended upon its being executed quickly.

Lastly, the Trimetrical Classic, so called from the fact that each line contains only three words. This is a most remarkable document, as displaying in the writer—if there be but one,—great knowledge of both Old and New Testament history—of the plan of salvation and of practical Christianity. He appears also to have much knowledge of Chinese history, and uses it to guard against the hostility likely to rise amongst Chinese against the western nations, from the idea that they were entirely indebted to them for a knowledge of the true God.

THE TRIMETRICAL CLASSIC.

“ The great God
Made heaven and earth ;
Both land and sea
And all things therein.
In six days
He made the whole :
Man, the lord of all,
Was endowed with glory and honour.
Every seventh day worship,
In acknowledgment of Heaven's favour :
Let all under heaven
Keep their hearts in reverence.
It is said that in former times,

A foreign nation was commanded
To honour God ;
The nation's name was Israel.
Their twelve tribes
Removed into Egypt ;
Where God favoured them,
And their posterity increased.
Then a king arose,
Into whose heart the devil entered ;
He envied their prosperity,
And inflicted pain and misery.
Ordering the daughters to be preserved,
But not allowing the sons to live ;
Their bondage was severe,
And very difficult to bear.
The great God
Viewed them with pity,
And commanded Moses
To return to his family.
He commanded Aaron
To go and meet Moses :
When both addressed the king,
And wrought divers miracles.
The king hardened his heart,
And would not let them go ;
Wherefore God was angry,
And sent lice and locusts.
He also sent flies,
Together with frogs,
Which entered their palaces,
And crept into their ovens.
When the king still refused,
The river was turned to blood ;

And the water became bitter
Throughout all Egypt.
God sent boils and blains,
With pestilence and murrain ;
He also sent hail,
Which was very grievous.
The king still refusing,
He slew their first-born ;
When the king of Egypt
Had no resource,
But let them go
Out of his land.
The great God
Upheld and sustained them
By day in a cloud,
By night in a pillar of fire.
The great God
Himself saved them.
The king hardened his heart,
And led his armies in pursuit ;
But God was angry,
And displayed His majesty.
Arrived at the Red Sea,
The waters were spread abroad ;
The people of Israel
Were very much afraid.
The pursuers overtook them,
But God stayed their course ;
He Himself fought for them,
And the people had no trouble.
He caused the Red Sea
With its waters to divide ;
To stand up as a wall,

That they might pass between.
The people of Israel
Marched with a steady step,
As though on dry ground,
And thus saved their lives.
The pursuers attempting to cross,
Their wheels were taken off ;
When the waters closed upon them,
And they were all drowned.
The great God
Displayed His power,
And the people of Israel
Were all preserved.
When they came to the desert,
They had nothing to eat,
But the great God
Bade them not be afraid.
He sent down manna,
For each man a pint ;
It was as sweet as honey,
And satisfied their appetites.
The people lusted much,
And wished to eat flesh.
When quails were sent,
By the million of bushels.
At the Mount Sinai,
Miracles were displayed ;
And Moses was commanded
To make tables of stone.
The great God
Gave His celestial commands,
Amounting to ten precepts,
Any breach of which would not be forgiven.

He Himself wrote them,
And gave them to Moses ;
The celestial law
Cannot be altered.
In after ages,
It was sometimes disobeyed,
Through the devil's temptations,
When men fell into misery.
But the great God,
Out of pity to mankind,
Sent His first-born Son
To come down into the world.
His name is Jesus,
The Lord and Saviour of men,
Who redeems them from sin,
By the endurance of extreme misery.
Upon the cross
They nailed His body ;
Where He shed His precious blood,
To save all mankind.
Three days after His death
He rose from the dead :
And during forty days
He discoursed on heavenly things.
When He was about to ascend,
He commanded His disciples
To communicate His Gospel,
And proclaim His revealed will.
Those who believe will be saved,
And ascend up to heaven ;
But those who do not believe,
Will be the first to be condemned.
Throughout the whole world

There is only one God (Shang-te) ;
 The great Lord and Ruler,
 Without a second.
 The Chinese in early ages
 Were regarded by God ;
 Together with foreign states,
 They walked in one way.
 From the time of Pwan-koo *
 Down to the three dynasties †
 They honoured God,
 As history records.
 Thang of the Shang dynasty ‡
 And Wan of the Chow, §
 Honoured God
 With the intensest feeling.
 The inscription on Thang's bathing-tub
 Inculcated daily renovation of mind ;
 And God commanded him
 To assume the government of the empire.
 Wan was very respectful,
 And intelligently served God ;
 So that the people who submitted to him
 Were two out of every three.
 When Tsin obtained the empire ||
 He was infatuated with the genii ; ¶
 And the nation has been deluded by the devil

* The first man spoken of by the Chinese.

† This period closed B.C. 220.

‡ B.C. 1,765.

§ B.C. 1,121.

|| B.C. 220.

¶ History says, that in the time of Tsin-che-hwang (the Emperor who burnt the books) one Tseu-she requested that he might be allowed, with a number of virgins and youths, to go down

For the last two thousand years.
 Suen * and Woo,† of the Han dynasty,
 Both followed this bad example ;
 So that the mad rebellion increased,
 In imitation of Tsin's misrule.
 When Woo arrived at old age
 He repented of his folly,
 And lamented that from his youth up,
 He had always followed the wrong road.‡
 Ming,§ of the Han dynasty,
 Welcomed the institutions of Budha,
 And set up temples and monasteries,
 To the great injury of the country.
 But Hwuy, of the Sung dynasty,
 Was still more mad and infatuated,

into the sea, to the hill of the three spirits, in order to obtain the elixir of immortality from the genii ; when the Emperor sent Tseu-she, with several thousand virgins and youths, to go in search of the place in question. They returned, saying, that though they saw it at a distance, they could not get there.

* B.C. 72.

† A.D. 25.

‡ History records, that when Woo had been thirty-one years on the throne, two years before his death, he said, " My conduct since I ascended the throne has been perverse and wicked, causing much misery to the empire, to regret which is now unavailing. From henceforth, however, whatever distresses the people or wastes property throughout the empire, must be set aside." One of his ministers said, " According to the conjurers, the genii are very numerous, but they have never done us any good ; let them be abolished." The Emperor approved of the suggestion, and discarded all conjurers, with those that had familiar spirits.

§ A.D. 58

For he changed the name of Shang-te (God)
Into that of Yuh-hwang (the Pearly Emperor)*
But the great God
Is the supreme Lord
Over all the world,
The great Father in heaven.
His name is most honourable,
To be handed down through distant ages :
Who was this Hwuy
That he dared to alter it ?
It was meet that this same Hwuy
Should be taken by the Tartars :
And together with his son
Perish in the northern desert.
From Hwuy, of the Sung dynasty,
Up to the present day,
For these seven hundred years,
Men have sunk deeper and deeper in error.
With the doctrine of God
They have not been acquainted ;
While the King of Hades
Has deluded them to the utmost.

* The Chinese history of the period in question says that the Emperor Hwuy (A.D. 1,107) having obtained a pearly book and a precious gem, went to the palace of perfect pureness and harmony, where he saluted the Pearly Emperor with an honourable title, as follows :—"The great Supreme, the origin of heaven, the holder of charms, the controller of the seasons, the possessor of all that is divine, and the embodiment of all that is true, the the Pearly Emperor Shang-te (God) of the august heavens." He also commanded that in every favourable spot that penetrated the sky, they should erect temples and monasteries, and form holy images.

The great God displays
Liberality deep as the sea :
But the devil has injured man
In a most outrageous manner.
God is therefore displeased,
And has sent His son,
With orders to come down into the world,
Having first studied the classics.
In the Ting-yew year (1837)
He was received into heaven,
Where the affairs of heaven
Were clearly pointed out to him.
The great God
Personally instructed him,
Gave him odes and documents,
And communicated to him the true doctrine.
God also gave him a seal,
And conferred upon him a sword,
Connected with authority,
And majesty irresistible.
He bade him, together with the Elder Brother,
Namely Jesus,
To drive away impish fiends,
With the co-operation of angels.
There was one who looked on with envy,
Namely the King of Hades ;
Who displayed much malignity,
And acted like a devilish serpent.
But the great God,
With a high hand,
Instructed His son
To subdue this fiend ;
And having conquered him,

To show him no favour.
And in spite of his envious eye,
He damped all his courage.
Having overcome the fiend,
He returned to heaven,
Where the great God
Gave him great authority.
The celestial mother was kind
And exceedingly gracious,
Beautiful and noble in the extreme,
Far beyond all compare.
The celestial Elder Brother's wife
Was virtuous, and considerate,
Constantly exhorting the Elder Brother
To do things deliberately.
The great God,
Out of love to mankind,
Again commissioned His son
To come down into the world ;
And when He sent him down,
He charged him not to be afraid.
I am with you, said He,
To superintend everything.
In the Mow-shin year (1848)
The son was troubled and distressed,
When the great God
Appeared on his behalf.
Bringing Jesus with Him,
They both came down into the world ;
Where He instructed His son
How to sustain the weight of government.
God has set up His son
To endure for ever,

To defeat corrupt machinations,
And to display majesty and authority,
Also to judge the world,
To divide the righteous from the wicked ;
And consign them to the misery of hell,
Or bestow on them the joys of heaven.
Heaven manages everything,
Heaven sustains the whole :
Let all beneath the sky
Come and acknowledge the new monarch.
Little children,
Worship God,
Keep His commandments,
And do not disobey.
Let your minds be refined,
And be not depraved ;
The great God
Constantly surveys you.
You must refine yourselves well,
And not be depraved.
Vice willingly practised
Is the first step to misery.
To ensure a good end,
You must make a good beginning ;
An error of a hair's breadth
May lead to a discrepancy of 1,000 le.
Be careful about little things,
And watch the minute springs of action
The great God
Is not to be deceived.
Little children
Arouse your energies.
The laws of high Heaven

Admit not of infraction.
Upon the good, blessings descend,
And miseries on the wicked ;
Those who obey heaven are preserved,
And those who disobey perish.
The great God
Is a spiritual Father ;
All things whatever
Depend on Him.
The great God
Is the Father of our spirits ;
Those who devoutly serve Him
Will obtain blessings.
Those who obey the fathers of their flesh
Will enjoy longevity ;
Those who requite their parents
Will certainly obtain happiness.
Do not practise lewdness,
Nor any uncleanness ;
Do not tell lies
Do not kill and slay
Do not steal ;
Do not covet :
The great God
Will strictly carry out His laws.
Those who obey Heaven's commands
Will enjoy celestial happiness ;
Those who are grateful for Divine favours
Will receive Divine support.
Heaven blesses the good,
And curses the bad.
Little children,
Maintain correct conduct.

The correct are men,
The corrupt are imps.
Little children,
Seek to avoid disgrace.
God loves the upright,
And He hates the vicious ;
Little children,
Be careful to avoid error.
The great God
Sees everything.
If you wish to enjoy happiness,
Refine and correct yourselves."

Of course there is much in this book strangely incongruous and extraordinary, as coming from so acute and intelligent a people. Where this matter is introduced, the sense becomes very obscure and unconnected: not so any other part which appears to be almost a paraphrase of Scripture; which would argue either an interpolation by a person less conversant with Scripture truth.

It can scarcely be intended for an imposture, for in that case they would not have stripped it so bare of accessories. And further, they have adopted the very best method of overthrowing imposition—that of publishing the "Scriptures," which this same document accredits.

Following is an extract from an early proclamation of the insurgents, in which is evidently the same in

substance as the very objectionable portion in the trimetrical classic ; and it is probable that no more is intended than that stated in the proclamation, and in which there is nothing very extravagant. It is perhaps a gross way of stating what they believed to be a Providential intimation.

“ On a second occasion the great God manifested His displeasure, and came down to save Israel out of the land of Egypt. On a third occasion He displayed his awful majesty, when the Saviour of the world, the Lord Jesus, became incarnate in the land of Judea, and suffered for the redemption of mankind. In later ages He has again manifested His indignation, and the Ting-yew year (A. D. 1837) the great God sent a celestial messenger, who was commissioned by the Lord of Heaven, when He ascended on high, to put to death the fiendish bands. Again He has sent the celestial king to take the lead of the empire and save the people : from the Mow-shin to the Sinhai year (A. D. 1848-51) the great God has compassionated the calamities of the people, who have been entangled in the meshes of the devil's net ; on the 3rd moon of the latter year the exalted Lord and great Emperor appeared ; and in the 9th moon, Jesus, the Saviour of the world, manifested Himself, exerting innumerable acts of power, and slaughtering a great number of impish fiends, in

several pitched battles ; for how can impish fiends expect to resist the Majesty of Heaven ? And how, we would ask, can the great God fail to be displeased with men for worshipping corrupt spirits, and performing corrupt actions, by which means they grievously offend against the commands of Heaven ? ”

It is more than probable that it is the same statement somewhat differently coloured as that mentioned by Hung-sew-tseuen's friend, viz. : “ Afterwards when sick, he had a vision in which he received instructions corresponding with the doctrines taught in the book, and therefore he immediately commenced speaking and acting according to the instructions of the book received.”

But it may be an improper attempt to disarm the prejudices of the nation, an unprincipled expediency that ought not to be justified, but cannot be wondered at in them, when expediency is so common amongst ourselves.

When they set up a Sovereign, they may have thought it necessary, in accordance with custom, to find for him, if not a celestial origin, at least a celestial origin for his appointment. This custom never deceived more than the very ignorant, and the insurgents make no secret of the Tae-ping's origin ; his followers speak of him as Hung-sew-tseuen. The

prejudice alluded-to above, is shewn in the following quotation from and comment upon, Chinese history :—

“The grand leading principle of this patriarchal Government is, to place the Sovereign at as great a distance from the people, and as far removed from mortality, as human invention could suggest. They not only style him the ‘Son of Heaven,’ but believe him to be of heavenly descent; and this superstitious notion appeared in a manner sufficiently remarkable. If the obstacles thrown in the way of the present Mantchoo dynasty, on account of their family not being able to trace their descent farther back than eight generations;—a defect of ancient origin, which was considered by the Chinese as a great reproach;—Keang-hu, aware of their prejudices, caused the genealogy of the Tartar family to be published in the Gazette. It stated that the daughter of heaven, descending on the borders of the Lake Pont-Kousi, at the foot of the White Mountain, and eating some red fruit that grows there, conceived, and bare a son, partaking of her nature, endowed with wisdom, strength, and beauty; that the people chose him for their Sovereign, and that from him was descended the present Son of Heaven, who filled the throne of China. And this explanation wiped away the reproach, and fully satisfied the subjects of the ‘Celestial Empire.’”

They also gave us a book covered with Imperial yellow silk, and with the *imprimatur* of Tae-ping-wang as Emperor, with the superscription "Volume the first ;" containing twenty-eight chapters of Genesis, from the version by Gutzlaff.

There can be no doubt but that they were acquainted with the New Testament, if they did not possess it ; as they spoke in one of their proclamations of the Old Testament. It is just possible that they did not possess a copy of the New Testament, until after receiving those given by myself ; as until we had been there, as far as we know, they had not republished any portion of it.

The French war-steamer Cassini visited them some months after us, and she brought down a reprint of the remainder of Genesis, of Exodus, and a portion of the New Testament, consisting of St. Matthew's Gospel, printed almost *verbatim* from the version of Gutzlaff.

If this surmise, respecting the New Testament, be well grounded, it is interesting and important ; as the want of it may account for many of the errors in their writings and practice. Their having, and publishing it, is the best guarantee for the correction of the evil effects of both.

CHAPTER VI.

REMARKS FROM "THE TIMES" UPON CERTAIN REVELATIONS
—THESE REVELATIONS—QUOTATIONS FROM OTHER INSURGENT PUBLICATIONS—LETTER FROM A PASSENGER IN THE SUSQUEHANNA ON OCCASION OF HER VISIT TO NAN KIN—LETTER FROM REV. DR. BRIDGMAN, WHO ACTED AS INTERPRETER TO THE SUSQUEHANNA.

THE more recent visit of the Susquehanna, with the American minister, and that of the Rattler and Styx of her Majesty's service, has put us in possession of some very valuable information, which, as it has given rise to opinions of a very extreme character, I give with considerable fulness.

The whole question, in respect of the opinions, motives, and conduct of the insurgents, involves so much, and a wrong view of which may lead to such serious consequences, that it cannot be discussed with too much care, calmness, and discretion.

I give first, that which places the leaders of the movement (or some of them) in a very unfavourable

light; and that which has been deemed sufficient, by some, to denounce and condemn the whole movement as utterly bad, and one to which the ancient system, with its corruption and its idolatry, is to be preferred; with a view to examine the reasonableness and consistency of this opinion.

The article above alluded to is taken from the *Times*. I give the remarks made in that paper, at the time of publishing the extract, as they are much to the point, though not altogether such as I could subscribe to. I have noticed in italics and brackets the parts I have any material objection to.

“We apprehend that few readers would be able without some bewilderment to peruse a document connected with the Chinese insurrection which we publish this morning. The extract is of considerable length, the coherence of the matter is by no means obvious, and the tautology and metaphors of Oriental language contribute in no small degree to the obscurity of the exposition. Nevertheless, the report is really of great importance, for its authenticity may be relied upon, and it will be found, when properly appreciated, to offer a very striking insight into the present religious persuasions of the insurgent Chinese. It is in this peculiar respect that the rebellion has been regarded with such unusual interest in this country. A dynastic

quarrel, or even a political convulsion, in the Chinese empire, could hardly have been expected to make much impression upon the nations of the West ; but when the people of England heard that the recognition of Christianity was actually maintained as a leading principle in the camp of the insurgents, and that a serious purpose of superseding idolatry by the pure faith of the Gospel was blended with the design of subverting the Tartar Government, they became interested indeed, and great anxiety was testified for reports of so wonderful a revolution. Now, the statement given in another part of our impression will convey an idea of the form which Christianity is assuming in those remote regions ; but it will require patient reading and some little preliminary introduction.

"It seems that among the Princes of the Pretender's Court, one, styled the Eastern Prince, professes, or is considered to receive, Divine inspiration ; and indeed it is represented either figuratively, or as literal truth, that the DIVINITY descends from Heaven to announce His will, either directly or through such medium, to the Chinese people. The narrative accordingly purports to detail the revelations so made, and sets forth a visit of 'the Heavenly Father,' in person, (*not in person*) together with an elaborate communication which the Eastern Prince was commissioned to deliver

in the Divine name to the Celestial King, *i. e.* the Pretender himself. The commands thus conveyed have reference not to any doctrinal propositions or any lofty precepts of morality, but to the general administration of the Government, the management of the Court, and even the regulation of its ceremonial. The officers of the Court, and, especially, the female officers, are to be treated with more indulgence and consideration; the King is to be less hasty and impetuous, to inflict punishment in moderation and upon reasonable grounds only, to be thoughtful in his actions, and to give his attendants less occasion to stand in awe of him. In particular, he is enjoined to be cautious in visiting offences with death, and is recommended to adopt such a method of proceeding in capital cases as would leave room for investigation and pardon. Such are the precepts for which the immediate authority of the DIVINITY is claimed, and which are announced in all the awful phraseology of Revelation itself. As a climax, the Celestial King is represented as ascribing to the Eastern Prince, in consideration of these communications, the mission and title of "the Comforter, even the Holy Ghost," and this designation, we are told, has been assumed accordingly.

"The first impression upon the reader's mind will naturally be that of overwhelming disgust at the blas-

phemous parody thus enacted ; and many persons will conclude, perhaps, that the Gospel in China is little more than a shocking mockery of sacred things and names. We are not, however, without an opinion that such a view of the case might be both unjust and unwarranted. That the Chinese have imbibed anything like the spirit of true Christianity, it is impossible to believe ; but we do not know that their errors are worse than were to be anticipated from what appears to have been a total absence of instruction. How, when, or where Christianity in any shape became diffused among this singular people, has always been a mystery ; but the result seems to have been accomplished, probably because preaching was impracticable, through the agency of the tracts, books, or pictures alone, and the consequence does certainly appear in some measure to justify the views of those who assert that Bibles without teachers cannot be expected to make Christians. The Chinese seem to have learnt the language, the chief tenets, and the leading doctrines of Christianity, and then to have moulded these materials into such a form as their own unaided instincts suggested. They have retained their own notions of Divinity and Kingship, and have applied to these old traditions phraseology and forms derived from the Holy Scriptures.*

* *I could not say so much as that "they have retained their own*

"In further excuse of their proceedings, let us request the reader to observe that their Christianity, however monstrous may be its shape, is nevertheless, so far as it goes, made instrumental for good. Though the instructions and commands for which the will of the DIVINITY is pleaded are in our eyes of anything but a sacred character, yet it will be seen that the object is, after all, undoubtedly beneficial. The orders thus revealed are calculated to control the passions of a despotic Sovereign, and to promote the observance of charity and forbearance among the members of an influential Court. It should be remembered, too, that the devotions paid by the Chinese to their monarchs have always taken the form of idolatry, and that the identification of royalty with Divinity is in a greater or lesser degree an idea inherent in the oriental mind. We suspect, indeed, that even a cursory reference to those old historians who relate the first introduction of Christianity into barbarous countries would supply some pretty close parallels to this Chinese narrative. The first individual to be approached was the king or chief; the first thing to be corrected was the violence of his passions, and it was no more than natural that barbarians should be addressed at first in the only language which they could understand.

notions of Divinity ;" the use of the old symbols will no doubt carry with them something of the old and erroneous ideas of Divinity.

"We think, therefore, that there is no necessity for hastily despairing of Chinese Christianity, or concluding that the divine doctrines of the Gospel have been deliberately depraved for any purposes of men. It appears to us rather that there must be good ground for hope in that condition of affairs which has rendered Christianity, even in so strange a guise, an important element of social and political life, and has induced a large part of an enormous population to supersede the traditions of an ancient religion by at least the language of a purer faith. It cannot be said at present that the Chinese have learnt the Gospel; but they have at any rate been taught to abandon a system of idolatry, to profess themselves believers in something better, and to appeal to this new law for the correction of social evil. The whole narrative reads very much like an invention devised for the express purpose of controlling the passions of the king; but, though its form and style are repulsive to Christian readers, the object of the design was good, nor can it be said that the doctrines of Scripture have been borrowed for purposes of wickedness or violence. It will, probably, be long before this extraordinary revolution is consummated, but we do not see that the hopes entertained of the eventual conversion of China need be despondingly abandoned."

The following official statement as to the religious tenets of the Chinese insurgents, translated by Mr. W. H. Medhurst, has been forwarded to us for publication :—

“ On the morning of the 25th of December, 1853, being the day of worship,* the Northern Prince, accompanied by the Marquis Ting-theen, the Minister of State, and other officers, came to the palace of the Eastern Prince, to pay their compliments and to deliberate on the affairs of Government. When the deliberations were completed, the Northern Prince, with all the officers, knelt down and exclaimed, ‘ May your highness the Eastern Prince enjoy felicity and repose!’ The Eastern Prince then commanded the Northern Prince to return to his palace, and all the officers to repair to their official residences, after which the Eastern Prince retired to his inner palace. In a short time the Heavenly Father came down into the world, and summoned † Yang-shway-keaou, Hoo-kan-keaou, Tan-wan-mei, and Sang-wan-mei, saying, ‘ Do all you young women come forward and listen to the commands of me, the Heavenly Father.’ Yang-shway-

* This is kept on Saturday by an error in the calculations of the insurgents.

† These are all female names, and appear to be family connexions of the Eastern Prince, afterwards termed female Ministers of State.

keaou, together with the female chamberlains, then approached into the presence of the Heavenly Father, and, kneeling down, inquired, saying, 'Since the Heavenly Father has taken the trouble to come down into the world, we young women have all come forward reverently to listen to the Heavenly Father's sacred commands, and to solicit his instructions.' The Heavenly Father then manifested considerable displeasure, and for some time would not speak. The female officers implored, saying, 'The moving of our Heavenly Father to take the trouble to come down into our world is to be ascribed to the faults of his sons and daughters, whose transgressions are multiplied. We, therefore, earnestly beseech our Heavenly Father's forgiveness, and intreat the removal of his displeasure, for which we pray, and pray again, with all imaginable earnestness.' The Heavenly Father then said, 'Since you little ones are sensible of your faults, do you immediately call your Northern Prince to come hither and listen to my commands.' The female chamberlains then replied, 'We will obey the Heavenly Father's sacred commands.' The female chamberlains then hastened out of the door of the second palace, and sounded the drum, announcing the descent of the Heavenly Father, and informing the male chamberlains that the Northern Prince had been summoned

into his presence. The male chamberlains, in obedience to the orders given, went immediately to the Northern Palace to make this announcement. The Northern Prince then came to the Eastern Palace to listen to the sacred commands of the Heavenly Father, who had come down into the world. The Heavenly Father also commanded the female Minister of State, Yang-shway-keaou, and Hoo-kan-mei, saying, 'Before the arrival of your Northern Prince I command you to take my sacred will, and announce it to your Eastern Prince, commanding him to go to Court, and inform your Lord, the Celestial King, that my appearance is on account of the impetuous disposition of your Lord, the Celestial King. Since he is of the same nature with myself, he ought to be as forbearing as myself. In ruling over the empire, mildness is essential in everything. For instance, the female officers in the Celestial Court, assisting to manage the affairs of State, are very frequently unacquainted with matters of high import, and are, therefore, apt to do things out of due order; these must be kindly instructed, with a liberality vast as the ocean, in order that their minds may attentively accord with the regulations of Government, and thus attend properly to their management. If they are treated with too much severity their minds will get into confusion, and they

will not know what to do in order to carry out the Imperial commands. Their minds being unsettled, their frames will be agitated; and when one thing goes wrong, everything will fall into confusion. So that it is much better quietly to tell them what to do until they are versed in it, and they will then attend to it spontaneously. To instance, also your young master,* although his nature is originally good yet he must be occasionally instructed, and then he will not abandon the good dictates of his nature—which are always at hand—and fall into evil habits and practices which are foreign to his views and feelings. At present you must take advantage of his original goodness of nature, and, as you have opportunity, instruct him, that he may get accustomed to what is correct, and become an example to all the empire, that all the nations of the world may take pattern by him. When you see that his sayings and doings are in accordance with Celestial emotions, then you may allow him to say and do as he pleases; but, when you see that they are not in accordance with Heavenly emotions, you must control him, and not let him do just what he likes.’ The female officers replied, ‘We unworthy females will endeavour to comply with the sacred commands of our Celestial Papa.’ The Heavenly

* The heir apparent, the son of Hung-sew-tseuen.

Father again said, ' Yang-chang-mei and Shih-ting-lan * have been for some time in the Celestial Court, attending to the affairs of State ; moreover, these young women are relatives of two of the Princes, and must, therefore, have their sympathies in unison with those of the Royal family. With respect to the elder and younger Choo-kew-mei, they have also attained some degree of merit, and must be allowed to rest themselves and cease from labour. Whether, therefore, they remain in the Celestial Court of Tae-ping-wang, or whether they come over to the palace of the Eastern Prince, let them enjoy the ease and tranquillity becoming Royal personages. It is also announced to be the Divine will that, if they are summoned into the Celestial Court, they will necessarily be daily near the Royal person (of Tae-ping-wang), and, as Ministers waiting upon the Sovereign, they will have certain duties to perform which cannot be avoided ; but, as they are not to attend to public business, it is much better that they remain in the palace of the Eastern Prince to enjoy themselves, which will be in all respects more convenient. With respect to the business of the Celestial Court, there are matters of State which any one may attend to. Let some other per-

* These, also, are female names of persons who had been previously occupied in the palace of Tae-ping-wang.

sons, therefore, be deputed to attend to these.' The female officers replied, ' We are much obliged for the trouble taken by the Heavenly Father to come down into the world to instruct us ; and, unworthy as we are, we will endeavour to comply with these injunctions, while we make known the sacred will of the Heavenly Father to the Eastern Prince.' The Heavenly Father again said, ' You comply with my injunctions, and all will be right. I shall now return to Heaven.' After the Heavenly Father had gone back to Heaven, the Northern Prince, accompanied by the Marquis Ting-theen and others, arrived at the outer gate of the Eastern Palace, and, not knowing that the Heavenly Father had returned to Heaven, they led forward all the officers to kneel down and pray, saying, ' We, your unworthy children, have frequently offended, so as to occasion our Heavenly Father to trouble himself, for which we earnestly beg our Heavenly Father's forgiveness, and that he would graciously condescend to instruct us his unworthy children.' Having finished the prayer, they continued kneeling on the ground, and commanded the male chamberlain to beat the drum and cause the female chamberlains to announce their arrival. The female chamberlains, hearing the sound of the drum, came out from the inner palace to the front gate to see the

Northern Prince, and informed him, saying, 'A short time ago the Heavenly Father gave himself the trouble to come down to earth; but he is now gone back to Heaven. We, therefore, request the Northern Prince and the Marquis Ting-theen to rise from their knees.' The Northern Prince then rose from his knees, and said, 'The Heavenly Father having graciously condescended to come down into the world, we should like to know what instructions he has left for us.' The female chamberlains replied, 'The sacred will of the Heavenly Father is to command the Eastern and Northern Princes, together with the officers, to go to Court. It is also commanded to the Eastern Prince to convey the sacred injunctions of the Heavenly Father to the Celestial King, ordering him to be more gentle in his disposition, and more indulgent towards others. He is also to give instructions to the heir apparent, and graciously to excuse four women of the court from the duties to which they have now to attend. The Eastern Prince, in obedience to the requisitions, is now about to go to court.' The Northern Prince said, 'Will you be kind enough to inform the Eastern Prince that I, the general, have come to pay my respects to him?' The female chamberlains announced this accordingly, when the Eastern Prince said, 'Since the Northern Prince has come, he may be

told to enter my palace.' The Northern Prince and all the officers then entered the palace, and, kneeling down, exclaimed, 'May the Prince enjoy extreme longevity!' They also thanked the Eastern Prince for his consideration, saying, 'We, your younger brethren, who are here to-day, are under obligations to the fourth elder brother * for the arrangements which he has made, whereby we have attained to our present position. Now, also, the Heavenly Father has manifested his great favour by coming down into our world to instruct us, for which we cherish the most unbounded gratitude. Moreover, also, the brethren and sisters throughout the world have, in a similar manner, repeatedly experienced great favours at the hands of our Heavenly Father.' The Eastern Prince said, 'The Heavenly Father has indeed taken a great deal of trouble on our behalf; may you, my younger brother, and all the officers be duly sensible of the Celestial favours.' The Northern Prince and all the officers replied, 'We shall endeavour to comply with your honourable commands.' The Eastern Prince again said, 'The Heavenly Father has made known

* The fourth elder brother refers to Yang-sew-tsing, the Eastern Prince. Jesus is the first elder brother; Hung-sew-tseuen, the second; the heir apparent, the third; and Yang-sew-tsing, the fourth.

his sacred will, commanding us all to go to Court; we ought, therefore, to proceed thither immediately.' Having said this, he told them to wait a little, and the Northern Prince, together with the officers, knelt down and shouted, 'May your Highness enjoy abundant longevity! We beseech you, the Eastern Prince, tranquilly to ascend your sedan chair.' The Eastern Prince then commanded the Northern Prince and all the officers to go first to Court. The Northern Prince was about to proceed thither accordingly, when he suddenly addressed the Chamberlain of the Northern Palace, saying, 'Do you quickly go to the sedan of the Eastern Prince, and request the favour of his instructions, as to whether we are first to go to the Hall of Audience, or to enter straight into the door of the palace.' The Chamberlain, receiving this charge, went immediately to the sedan of the Eastern Prince, and requested one of the servants of the Eastern Palace to obtain and communicate to him the wishes of his master. The servant said, 'The Eastern Prince is enjoying repose in the sedan, and I do not dare to disturb him.' The Chamberlain of the Northern Palace, hearing that the Eastern Prince was enjoying repose, did not presume to repeat the inquiry, but hastened back to inform the Northern Prince. The Northern Prince, hearing that the Eastern Prince was

enjoying repose, hastily descended from his sedan and proceeded on foot to the middle of the road, where he knelt down and inquired, saying, 'Has the Heavenly Father troubled himself to come down into this world again?' * To which the Heavenly Father replied in the affirmative, telling the Northern Prince to convey the sedan into the Hall of Audience. The Northern Prince replied, 'I will obey the injunctions of the Heavenly Father,' whereupon he hastily commanded the female officers of the Court to inform the Celestial

* There is here some need of explanation, in order to assist the general reader to understand the subject. The Eastern Prince, it appears, had seated himself in his sedan, and was about to proceed to the Court of Tae-ping-wang, when it was said, all of a sudden, that he was enjoying repose; which means, that he had fallen into a trance. While in that state it is pretended that the Heavenly Father had taken possession of his body, and, without the individual affected being conscious of the fact, he says and does things which are supposed to be the sayings and doings of the Heavenly Father. The Northern Prince seems to have been aware of the supposed possession as soon as he heard of the repose of the Eastern Prince, and therefore alighted from his chair, knelt down in the middle of the road, and asked if the Heavenly Father had come down. The colloquy that ensued was between the Eastern Prince (personating the Heavenly Father) and the Northern Prince. The trance over, exhaustion succeeded, and the Eastern Prince was informed of what had happened, of which he himself pretended to be unconscious. Such pretended possessions are common in China.

King of the circumstance ; which done, he, together with the Ministers of State and the other officers, conveyed the sedan of the Eastern Prince within the gates of the palace. The Celestial King, Tae-ping-wang, having heard the message which the female officers brought from the Northern Prince, intimating that the Heavenly Father had taken the trouble to come down into the world, hastily went on foot to the second gate of the palace, to receive the Heavenly Father. The last-named, on his arrival, was angry with the Celestial King, saying, ' Sew-tseuen ! you are very much in fault ; are you aware of it ? ' The Celestial King, kneeling down with the Northern Prince and all the officers, replied, saying, ' Your unworthy son knows that he is in fault, and begs the Heavenly Father graciously to forgive him.' The Heavenly Father then said, with a loud voice, ' Since you acknowledge your fault you must be beaten with forty blows.' At that time the Northern King and all the officers prostrated themselves on the ground, and, weeping, implored the Heavenly Father to manifest his favour, and remit the punishment which their master had deserved, offering to receive the blows themselves in the stead of the Celestial King. The Celestial King said, ' Do not, my younger brethren, rebel against the will of our Heavenly Father ; since our Heavenly Fa-

ther has of his goodness condescended to instruct us, I, your elder brother, can do no less than receive the correction.' The Heavenly Father would not listen to the request of the officers, but still insisted on the blows being given to the Celestial King; whereupon the Celestial King replied, 'Your unworthy son will comply with your requisitions;' and, so saying, he prostrated himself to receive the blows. The Heavenly Father then said, 'Since you have obeyed the requisition, I shall not inflict the blows; but those women, Shih-ting-lan and Yang-chang-mei, must both be sent to the palace of the Eastern Prince, and stay along with the imperial relatives, to enjoy royal ease and tranquillity. There is no necessity for their aiding in the business of the State. The elder and younger Chow-kew-choo, having formerly attained to a degree of merit, may also enjoy ease and tranquillity. With regard to other matters, you can wait till your brother Yang-sew-tsing sends up his report.' Having said this, the Heavenly Father returned to heaven.

"The Northern Prince, with the rest of the officers, then escorted the Celestial King back to the palace, when the Celestial King said, 'The Heavenly Father having taken the trouble to come down to the world to communicate instruction, let us all, unworthy as we are, acknowledge the celestial favour.' All the officers

then knelt down, and thrice exclaimed, 'May the King live for ever! we shall comply with your injunctions.'

"The Northern Prince then announced to the Eastern Prince, saying, 'My fourth elder brother, the Heavenly Father has again troubled himself to come down into the world.' The Eastern Prince delightfully said, 'Has he, indeed, taken the trouble to come down again? Truly, he gives himself a great deal of trouble on our account.' The Eastern Prince then addressed the Celestial King, saying, 'Not long the Heavenly Father came down into the world, at my palace, commanding me, your younger brother, and certain others, to come to Court and report to your Majesty, our second elder brother.' The Celestial King inquired, saying, 'Brother Tsing, what were the commands delivered by our Heavenly Father?' The Eastern Prince replied, saying, 'The sacred will of our Heavenly Father was to command you, our second elder brother, to instruct our young master more assiduously and properly, in order that every word and action, motion and rest, may be in accordance with the rules; you are not to allow him to do as he pleases. For instance, when our Heavenly Father sends down rain, and our young master wants to go out for a walk, were you to allow him to do as he pleases, he would get wet;

therefore, in this respect, he must be restrained ; but when the weather is fine he may go out for a walk.' He also said, ' The female officers at Court engaged in managing affairs, frequently come short of their duty.' The Heavenly Father further told me, your younger brother, to inform you, my second elder brother, that if the female officers commit any trifling fault, you should be indulgent towards them, and instruct them ; you are also to be gentle towards them, lest they should get frightened. For instance, when a ditch or canal has to be dug, you must not make people work as if they were building a city or a camp, and if the weather should be unfavourable with rain or snow falling, they should be allowed to rest for a while, and not made to dig during the continuance of frost and snow.* If you comfort them in this way they will be contented and happy, and, feeling grateful for your kindness, they will exert themselves in serving you, so that you will get all your work completed. During the month of August of the present year the Heavenly Father descended into the world, to alter his former regulations. The old saying has it, the Prince should employ his subjects according to propriety, and then

* It would appear as if the women were engaged in this laborious work ;—rather heavy, we should say, for Court ladies to perform.

subjects will serve their Prince according to fidelity. You, my second elder brother, have ascended up to the high Heavens, and, therefore, you ought certainly to be thoroughly acquainted with all matters of a celestial nature. But these female officers are originally women with a very circumscribed amount of information ; how should they be perfectly familiar with celestial principles ? On common occasions, when they see you, my second elder brother, in front of the palace, the female officers, getting a glance of your royal visage, can hardly avoid making mistakes in what they do, so as to excite your displeasure ; on which account they are always in a state of alarm. Even male officers, when they come to do any thing in front of the hall, are by no means at their ease. To instance our younger brother, Wei-tching, when he was once in front of your palace, managing some affair, he felt a certain degree of alarm, and did not dare to speak too much. How much more, then, female officers when they come into your presence ?

“ The Eastern Prince also addressed the sovereign, saying, ‘ When the officers, whether male or female, commit any crime that is worthy of death, it rests with you, my second elder brother, in obedience to the celestial law, to put them to death, in order to sustain the majesty of the Divine law, and to deter

future offenders. But, in my humble opinion, supposing the offenders to have committed something worthy of death, there may be still some circumstances in the case not very clear; and if you hastily put them to death, you may sometimes do wrong. Let me presume, therefore, to offer a suggestion; which is, that whenever, among the officers, male or female, any persons commit a capital crime, I should earnestly entreat you, my second elder brother, of your superabundant favour, to hand over the case to me, your unworthy younger brother, for careful examination as to the circumstances which led to the commission of the crime, and, if I meet with any extenuating considerations, I will supplicate you in your gracious compassion to pass over the offence. But if it should appear that the parties have really committed a grievous offence that cannot be forgiven, I will report to you, my second elder brother, that you may determine the case. In this way there will, probably, be no cases of undressed grievances, and the justice and benevolence of you, my second elder brother, will be equally displayed, while both rewards and punishments will be properly administered. I do not know whether this suggestion will meet your views, but I beseech you of your clemency to inform me.'

"The Celestial King then said, 'That which you,

my younger brother, have said is very right, and is truly in accordance with the benevolent feeling displayed by our Heavenly Father, who loves what is good, and hates what is evil, while he carefully discriminates between the one and the other. The disposition displayed by me, your elder brother, is impetuous, and if you, my younger brother, had not made this suggestion, it is to be feared that I should have wrongfully put some persons to death. Now, in consequence of your advice, not only shall I be prevented from wrongfully inflicting condign punishment, but future generations, observing this our example, will not dare to do anything rashly. From henceforth, therefore, I, your elder brother, will in every case consult with you, my younger brother, before I proceed to act. It will have been the effect also of inducing future princes to imitate their predecessors, and consult with virtuous ministers before they decide on action, by which means they may possibly prevent mistakes.'

"The Eastern Prince also said, 'This suggestion is not what I, your younger brother, could have thought of spontaneously ; it is solely in consequence of the regeneration of mind conferred by our Heavenly Father and celestial elder brother ; it is also to be as-

cribed to the kind consideration displayed by you, my second elder brother.'

"The Celestial King further said, 'What you have now suggested is very right: let it be recorded, therefore, for the instruction of future ages, that throughout all generations sovereigns and subjects may act according to this plan, and thus, perhaps, the intention of our Heavenly Father in fostering human life will be perpetually displayed, and the spirit of gentleness and tranquillity be handed down, world without end.'

"The Eastern Prince said, 'In this way, also, the intelligent virtue of you, my second elder brother, will be everlastingly established, and your example will be truly lovely and worthy of imitation.'

"The Eastern Prince further said, 'All you who are officers, when you meet with inferior officers coming to report some case to you in a respectful manner, no matter whether he be in the right or not, you should wait until he has reported it clearly; you must not, on any account, while he is in the middle of his report, on finding some impropriety in his expressions, bawl out and rail at him until he lose his presence of mind, for when people get alarmed they are likely to commit more errors. But you must wait until he has done speaking, and then quietly tell him what is right. If you do not, it is to be feared that when he has any-

thing to say which is right and proper he will not dare to make it known.'

"The Heavenly King then gave orders to all the officers, saying, 'All you officers must mind what the Eastern Prince says, which is all one as if it were addressed to you by the Heavenly Father; you must all reverently obey.' To which all the officers replied,— 'We will comply with your commands.'

"The Eastern Prince then addressed the Celestial King, saying, 'The adage says, a prince should employ his subjects with respect, and then the subjects will serve their prince with fidelity; all the subjects of this realm, depending for their subsistence on the bounties of the State, are in duty bound to serve their prince with fidelity; when subjects also distinguish themselves in a meritorious manner, the prince should bestow upon all proper consideration and reward; he should kindly sympathize with his inferiors, and bestow favours upon them, in order to encourage them in good conduct. Now, among the female officers of the Celestial Court, and in the palace of me your younger brother, those who attend to the business of the State are very much harassed. Some of these are the wives, and others the mothers, of meritorious and faithful officers; some have young children to attend to, and others old relations to look after. Some of

them also have meritorious husbands, who have given up their households out of regard to their country. Now, when women have surrendered their domestic ties, with a view to the services of the State, and abandoned their private interests in order to promote the public weal, the Prince ought to take into consideration their faithful devotion, and allow them every six weeks to go and look after their relatives ; or every month or six weeks to go and inspect their households ; or, it may be, every week or fortnight to take in turn to visit their domestic hearth ; whether to fondle their children, or to manifest respect to their aged relatives, or to serve their husbands. In this way they will be enabled to carry out the duty of, first, regarding the interests of their country, and, after that, attending to the welfare of their family. Now, also, there are many ladies, whose rank is honourable and whose duties are important ; we do not say that the female officers placed under these would purposely neglect their duties ; but it may be that some of them have displeased their mistresses, who may have scolded them a little too severely. Now, if you do not allow these female officers to state their grievances, they will never get redress ; the women employed, therefore, should be permitted to complain, when you, our second elder brother, would be able to make up your mind

and decide between the right and the wrong. This is one way in which princes may employ their subjects according to propriety. Moreover, in the royal city, there are the various operations of erecting palaces, digging moats, throwing up banks, and sweeping the imperial gardens, which must all be attended to by these female officers ; but, you should issue your orders how these things are to be done. It is not at all necessary that you should personally inspect these operations, for the Celestial Majesty extends to every spot, and wherever the imperial cavalcade comes people are filled with dread and alarm. It is better, then, to allow these officials to work on without interruption, in which case they will be able to complete their undertaking. But if you go personally to inspect what they are about, they will not be able to bring anything to perfection. This is another way in which princes may employ their subjects according to propriety. When a prince thus manifests a degree of gracious consideration in his conduct towards his subjects, then his subjects will be more especially affected with gratitude, in order faithfully to serve their prince. If you carry out this method of treatment, from the female officers to the male persons employed, then those who are engaged in any military expedition will expose themselves to distresses abroad, such as sleeping on

their arms, and fighting amid frost and snow. When the prince thus cherishes a kind consideration for his subjects, his subjects will exert themselves to serve him faithfully, in order to repay the benevolence of the prince. This shows how, when the prince employs his subjects according to propriety, subjects will serve their prince with fidelity. With respect to the female apartments, royal reformation must begin there. The palace is a fountain from which all government springs ; hence, he who wishes to illustrate intelligent virtue throughout the empire will first regulate his country ; and he who wishes to have his country well regulated will first put his family in order. At present, through the favour of our Heavenly Father, the number of ladies at Court is very great, the daughters of the Prince are also very numerous ; it will not, therefore, be right to listen only to the statements of the elder ladies, and not give heed to the complaints of the younger ones ; still less would it be right to mind the prattle of the younger branches of the Royal family, to the exclusion of the remonstrances of the elder ones. In every case you should allow both parties to make their statements clearly, and thus you may decide between them as to which party is in the right and which in the wrong, without showing any partiality to either. When the ladies wait

upon you, my elder brother, it is of course their duty, but sometimes they may be apt to excite your righteous displeasure, in which case you must treat them gently, and not kick them with your boot on, for, if you kick them with your boot on, it may be that some of the ladies are in such a state as to call for the congratulations of their friends, and thus you interfere with the kind intentions of our Heavenly Father, who loves to foster human life. Further, when any of the ladies are in the state above alluded to, it would be as well to manifest a little gracious consideration and allow them to rest from their labours, while you select some separate establishment for their residence and repose. You may still require them morning and evening to pay their respects. Such a method of treatment would be proper; and, if still any of the ladies should commit any trifling fault so as to give offence to my Lord, it would be as well to excuse them from being beaten with the bamboo. You may, however, scold them severely, and tell them not to offend any more. Should any of them commit any grievous crime, you should wait till after their confinement, when you can inflict punishment."

"The Celestial King then praised his adviser, saying, 'Your observations, brother Tsing, are all-important, and may be considered the specifics for

managing families, governing countries, and ruling the whole empire.'

"The Eastern Prince replied, 'That which I have just observed is what Princes would not of themselves think of; hence the necessity of a faithful Minister to report.'"

The preceding is a translation of part of a pamphlet just received from Nankin. The whole is too full of repetitions to admit of being fully detailed. One sentence, however, must be given as showing the amount of error to which they have reached, in consequence, perhaps, of not having had some one to guide them.

"The Celestial King said, 'That which you, my brother Tsing, have reported, may be considered an important specific and a precious remedy, every word of which is consistent with the highest reason, and fit to be preserved as a rule for succeeding generations. When our Celestial elder brother Jesus, in obedience to the commands of our Heavenly Father, came down into the world, in the country of Judea, he addressed his disciples, saying—"At some future day the Comforter will come into the world." Now I, your second elder brother, considering what you, brother Tsing, have reported to me, and observing what you have done, must conclude that the Comforter, even the

Holy Ghost, spoken of by our Celestial elder brother, is none other than yourself.' ”

Accordingly, Yang-sew-tsing has since assumed the title of the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, which he appends to his name in all his proclamations. He also requires his name to be included in the doxology which is addressed to the Heavenly Father and chanted every morning and evening.

Yang-sew-tsing, the Eastern Prince, seems to be the evil genius of the movement, for the errors in doctrine seem always to emanate from him, though he was one of the earliest in the movement, having started from Nankin with Hung-sew-tsién, Fung-yun-san, and others. He owes his position as much perhaps to his relationship to the Thae-ping, whose sister he married, as to the talent which he evidently possesses ; and certainly to that, more than to his knowledge of Christianity.

If our understanding of this document is to be relied on, there can be no question but that Yang-sew-tsing is a deceiver, the Judas of the party ; yet that he is so, nowise necessitates that all must be equally bad, even though they should not deny the truth of his alleged revelations ; for even in our own day, in the full blaze of Gospel light, there were honest believers in the gift of *unknown* tongues, and there is reason to

believe that many of the party are not privy to his deception, and that his revelations and blasphemies meet with a limited countenance from others.

His family connexion may induce him to look for the headship, with or without the demise of the Thae-ping, and it may be with a view to outwit him and overthrow his assumptions that the Thae-ping allows him to commit the gross blasphemy (if we suppose him aware of the import of his act), of assuming the title of "the Comforter," well knowing that the better informed would not submit to it. The Thae-ping is probably in a minority in Nankin, from the absence of others in charge of the armies. Fun-yun-san, the Southern Prince is known to have received instruction from Gutzlaff, and to have baptized 2000 before the rebellion commenced ; he no doubt is too well informed to admit of such views, and is absent with the army in the north. Lo-ta-kang also must be with the army, and he, both in his proclamation and in conversation spoke of visiting the chapel at Canton ; and thence it may be fairly inferred that he also is too well instructed to countenance this conduct of Yang's. In the absence of these and others, the Thae-ping may dissemble his real opinions for a time, content for the present with continuing his re-publication of the Scriptures ; it is abundantly evident that there were

sounder opinions current amongst them, as their earlier writings shew, and whence were they, if not from some other absent men, or from the Thae-ping, countenanced by them ; and could Yang have carried his point safely and sufficiently without any alleged revelation, he would hardly have had recourse to it. The Thae-ping cannot but feel humiliated by the threat of being bamboosed. Nor is it to be wondered at that He, so little instructed, should consider it admissible "to do evil that good might come of it." And it is incompatible with the supposition that Yang-sew-tsing could have any very extravagant idea of Hung-sew-tseuen's "celestial birth," as they affirm, that he should even contemplate the possibility of his being subject to any such humility as being bamboosed ; and it is most strange and un-Chinese that He should publish it unless he wished to supplant him.

I have little doubt but that Hung-sew-tseuen is no party to the publication.

In this publication, as in that of others by Yang, there is a tendency towards Socinianism, though in their earlier publications there is a clear recognition of the Trinity, and this now obtains in their doxologies in daily use.

If this be Yang's views of truth, it will account for much of that which is most revolting in his language ;

and, in his estimation, the assumption of the title of Comforter, does not amount to much.

The tendency to lapse into Socinianism has been so common in the professing Church, that it ought not to be considered strange in these ill-instructed Chinese.

I must not be understood as meaning to speak lightly of this error, but merely as pointing to the inconsistency of those who look upon Socinians as good members of society, though holding to error in the midst of truth, and condemning the Chinese as fanatical and impracticable, though they have attained to an equal measure of light on this subject, and though they had been hitherto surrounded by an almost impenetrable darkness.

Let any one contrast the above with the following extracts from their book of religious precepts, and say whether it is possible that the views of all can be equally unsound with those of Yang-sew-tsing.

“Forms to be observed when men wish to forsake their sins :—They must kneel down in God’s presence, and ask Him to forgive their sins ; they may then either take a bason of water and wash themselves, or go to the river and bathe themselves ; after which they must continue daily to supplicate Divine favour, and the Holy Spirit’s assistance to renew their hearts, saying grace at every meal, keeping holy the Sabbath

day, and obeying all God's commandments, especially avoiding idolatry. They may then be accounted the children of God, and their souls will go to heaven when they die ; all people throughout the world, whether Chinese or foreigners, male or female, must observe this in order to obtain salvation."

Here follows their prayer :

" I, A. B. kneeling down with a true heart, repent of my sins, and pray the Heavenly Father, the Great God, of His abundant mercy, to forgive my former sins of ignorance, in repeatedly breaking the Divine commands, earnestly beseeching Him also to grant me repentance and newness of life, that my soul may go to heaven ; while I, from henceforth, truly forsake my former ways, abandoning idolatry and all corrupt practices, in obedience to God's commands. I also pray that God would give me His Holy Spirit to change my wicked heart, deliver me from all temptation, and grant me His favour and protection ; bestowing on me food and raiment, and exemption from calamity ; peace in this world and glory in the next, through the mercies of our Saviour and elder brother Jesus, who redeemed us from sin. I also pray that God's will may be done on earth as it is done in heaven. Amen."

Then follow forms of prayers for daily use. Grace before and after meat. For a sick person. Ceremo-

nies to be observed on the occasion of marriages, births, or other felicitous events.

Forms of prayer and ceremonies to be used on the occasion of building houses, &c.

On the occasion of a funeral it distinctly prohibits any Buddhistic ceremonies to be used.

On Sundays the following doxology is to be said or sung :—

“ We praise thee, O God, our Heavenly Father ;
We praise Jesus—the Saviour of the world ;
We praise the Holy Spirit, the sacred intelligence ;
We praise the Three persons, united as the True Spirit.”

The above is followed by a verse of a hymn.

“ The true doctrine is different from the doctrine of the world.
It saves men’s souls, and affords the enjoyment of endless
bliss.

The wise receive it at once with joyful exultation.

The foolish, when awakened, understand thereby the way to
heaven.

Our Heavenly Father, of his infinite and incomparable
mercy,

Did not spare His own Son, but sent Him down into the
world,

To give His life for the redemption of all our transgressions.
When men know this, and repent of their sins, they may go
to heaven.”

Then follow the ten commandments.

“ 1. Worship the great God.

- " 2. Do not worship depraved spirits.
- " 3. Do not take God's name in vain ; His name is Jehovah.
- " 4. On the seventh day is the Sabbath, when you must praise God for His goodness. (Their Sabbath is the same day as our Sunday.)
- " 5. Honour father and mother.
- " 6. Do not kill or injure people.
- " 7. Do not commit adultery, or practice any uncleanness. (Under this command opium and foreign tobacco is prohibited, on the ground that their use is associated with the vices prohibited.)
- " 8. Do not steal.
- " 9. Do not lie.
- " 10. Do not covet."

In the ode of the Thae-ping dynasty brought from Nankin by the Cassini, French war steamer, the Unitarianism seems to be stated.

" I have reflected on the great doctrine, and obtained the true tradition,

According to my reckoning for several tens of years :
You must know, therefore, that the true Spirit is only one,
And you should understand that the creative power comes from heaven.

From of old we find that the true Spirit is God alone,
Hence it becomes our first duty to honour our heavenly Father.

In the beginning it was his hand alone that formed all nature,
• And in six days completed the creation of the myriads of things.

By the outstretching of his Almighty arm heaven and earth were fixed ;

By the exertions of his wondrous power the deep was established ;

All people ought, therefore, to honour God,
And with grateful hearts trace up everything to this origin.
Heaven compassionated mankind, involved in the deepest misery,

And first sent down his first-born Son, armed with his power.
Jesus, our Celestial elder brother, undertook the salvation of the world ;

Pitying the condition of mankind, he left his Celestial abode.
Giving himself up, he suffered to the utmost incalculable misery,

In order to bring back men to the right way, and to restore the order of things.

Mankind should remember the Saviour of the world,
Whose merit in saving the human race is ever-during.
Heaven also sent our Sovereign to be the Celestial King,
From whose coming the true doctrine began to be widely diffused ;

He is endowed with natural talents far above the common order."

Again, it says,—

"The great God alone,
Is the one true Spirit."

And yet this *may* arise from the difficulty of clearly translating the original Hebrew plural of the Old Testament into Chinese, or from a confusion of ideas ; for the atonement seems to be very clearly set forth. This document is very important, as shewing the limited signification that is to be put upon those expressions

which occur in the trimetrical classic and elsewhere, and which state that the Thae-ping was sent down from heaven, and that Yang-sew-tsing "came down into the world," for it states that to be true of all men. Thus—

"August Heaven, the Supreme God,
Is a Lord and ruler of vast authority ;
The land and sea, men and things,
In six days were all created.
The seventh day is for blessing and praise,
Which must be offered up with especial reverence.
Before men were born
Their souls existed in heaven :
When they are about to be produced
They are sent down into the world.
After they are born
They possess the present body,
Which they receive from their parents,
Who cherish them in their lap and bosom ;
For the air and clothing of each day,
Men must depend on heaven."

The following communication from X. Y. Z, published in the North China Herald, and written evidently by a person who visited Nankin in the Susquehanna, is most interesting, and shews the necessity for obtaining more correct information before coming to a conclusion, condemnatory of all embarked in the movement, for ascertaining how much is due to the ordinary

arrogance of the Chinese character, and supposition (on their part) of the leaders that they must keep up the state and usages always observed in the Imperial courts: and then, and not till then, will be understood the extent of their fanaticism or the measures to be adopted to correct it.

“The Susquehanna and her consort reached Nankin on Saturday afternoon, the 27th of May. On Tuesday morning a communication was received from the city in answer to one from Captain Buchanan. Its contents have not been made public, but it is generally understood that it was similar in its tone to the communication addressed to Sir George Bonham during the visit of the *Hermes*. It sets forth the same claims, it is believed, in stronger language, and with a more preposterous tone of self-conceit than appears in the letter to the English Plenipotentiary. The feeling manifested, however, is the same. There is no evidence of any change of policy or of feeling towards foreigners since the visit of the *Hermes*. On the part of the people and subordinate officials the same friendly feeling was manifested that was observed a year ago.”

“These claims to superiority are not inconsistent with the existence of a purpose to encourage foreign commerce. They are the result of ignorance and pride. They will, however, be a bar to the formation of trea-

ties ; and therefore it becomes the treating powers to set them right on this point as soon as possible. The reception given to foreigners at Nankin, does not prove the existence of a feeling of hostility on the part of the insurgent chiefs. They are naturally averse to such visits, because they cannot understand their object ; and it is not strange that they should be suspicious of those whom they know to be on friendly terms with their enemies. How are they to know that their visitors are not spies seeking to give information for the benefit of the Imperial Generals ? The visit of the Susquehanna has put us in possession of facts which prove that the insurgents have undisturbed control of a large extent of country—so large as to furnish a guarantee to their ultimate success. It is certain that they have now command of the Yangtze river, as far at least as the Po-yang lake, and probably much further. There seems to be nothing that can prevent their triumph, but internal dissensions, of which at present no symptoms appear. It is therefore a question of some importance to the treating powers, whether they will insist upon some understanding with the rising party now, or wait until they shall have gained the empire.

“In the immediate vicinity of Nankin, however, the country is not in the power of the insurgents. An

Imperialist force is encamped near the east gate, and this prevents the exercise of authority by the insurgents over the country-people. A daily market is held at a point about a mile distant from the wall, for the sale of poultry, vegetables, meat, and other produce. The country-people who attend it still shave their heads, and are not permitted to approach any nearer to the city than the site of the market.

“The city itself is under strict martial law, and indeed is at present a mere military camp. The most rigid discipline and perfect order are maintained. None are permitted to pass in or out at the gates without special permission. When the city was taken, the victors seem to have regarded the place and all within it as their own. The inhabitants became members of the army. The women and young children were separated from the men, and reside in a separate quarter of the city, all being clothed and fed from the public stores: all property was of course turned over to the public treasury. The people are all well clothed, and, doubtless, have an abundance of rice to eat, though the supply of other articles of diet may not be very abundant. The use of tobacco is not only prohibited, but the prohibition is made effectual. The prohibition of opium is of course still more carefully enforced. Betel-nut, however, is freely used. Grain junks bring

constant supplies of rice from the country bordering on the Yang-tze ; and some were seen which had just arrived from the province of Hoo-pih. Large parties of women were seen carrying the rice into the city : it was packed in small bags, and each woman carried one on her shoulder. Men are not entirely excluded, during the day at least, from the women's quarter, for many were seen in the streets. Gaily-dressed ladies were occasionally met with on horseback or on donkeys, riding astride like the men ; and, like them, having their heels instead of their toes in the stirrups.

“ Where everything is common property, there can of course be no trade. No shops were seen, nor any articles exposed to sale ; nor could boats, sedan-chairs, or horses be obtained for hire. Boats were abundant, and their use was cheerfully granted occasionally when needed, without pay. The boats are propelled not by sculling, but by oars ; and were not managed with as much ease and skill as are seen at Shanghai.

“ For the palaces of their kings, and the capital of a great empire, there can be no more magnificent situation than that of Nankin. It is enclosed by a complete circle of hills of various height, which at once give an air of grandeur and beauty to the scenery, and furnish great facilities for military defence. The walls, which are some forty or fifty feet high, are built round the

base of this mountain-circle ; the front of the hill, in many places, being cut away, so that the wall forms a facing to it. And in some places the solid rock, raised by the hand of nature, constitutes the wall. It is, in that case, cut smooth, to correspond with the face of the portion built of brick. The tops of the hills may be seen, at most points, rising above the parapet ; sometimes only a few feet, and sometimes twice the height of the wall itself. By the best accounts, the circumference of the wall is about twenty miles. A party mounted a very high hill, just within the northern or E-ping gate, expecting to get a good view of the city from so elevated a point. But instead of seeing before them a crowded city, they looked down upon a wide expanse of forest, not dense indeed, but to all appearance almost unbroken, and covered with an exuberant foliage. The scene was one of great beauty. Nothing was to be seen of the city, but an immense gateway, or monumental erection—apparently of stone, towering above the trees, at the distance of five or six miles ; while on the opposite side of the circle arose the far-famed porcelain-tower. The grass-covered hills surrounded on all sides this magnificent park ; and one high peak appeared in the centre of the basin, surmounted by a watch-tower. The city proper lies on the southern side of the enclo-

sure, and was completely hid behind the forest-garden by which it is surrounded.

"In passing through the city, little was seen to distinguish it from other Chinese cities, except that some of the streets are very wide, and appear to be kept in a state of cleanliness not often seen in China. The houses are generally low, and many of them at present uninhabited and much broken up. But there is nothing like the melancholy desolation which was witnessed at Chin-keang-foo, or like the still more fearful destruction by fire which took place at Wu-hu.

"As to the religious features of this remarkable movement, several facts of great interest have been brought to light. The leaven of fanaticism which has been manifested from the first, is operating for evil, and developing itself in new forms. The Eastern King has added to the titles which have heretofore appeared in connection with his name, two others.

"He has applied to himself the terms employed in Gutzlaff's version of the New Testament for "the Comforter," and that used by Morrison to designate the Holy Ghost. In all his proclamations posted on the walls, he appears with these titles, "the Comforter, the Holy Divine Breath." He doubtless is ignorant of the true import of these terms, and is not aware of the blasphemy of which he is guilty

This consideration may palliate, but cannot excuse, such an appropriation of terms, which he must well know are applied to a sacred use. From all that is known of this man, we cannot doubt that he is a cunning impostor, and he seems to have the chief management of affairs in his own hands. He was constantly referred to among the insurgents as the source of authority. It might perhaps be inferred from this, that Hung-sew-tseuen is no longer living; but when inquiry was made about him, the uniform testimony was, that he was living and well, and resided within the city.

“ Tae-ping-wang himself can hardly be excused on the score of ignorance, when he gives out that he is the brother of Jesus. There can no longer be a doubt that he means to claim a relationship peculiar to himself, since he founds upon it a title to the homage of all nations. An officer of rank, in an interview with a gentlemen who visited him at his residence in the city, insisted strongly upon this relationship, and upon the consequent obligation of the “foreign brethren” to come to Court with “tribute,” and prepared to submit to the “ceremonials” of the “celestial dynasty,” that is, doubtless to perform the prescribed number of prostrations. Having duly impressed upon his visitor the necessity of compliance with the proper

ceremonies, he held a consultation with his colleagues, called for horses, and, without a word of explanation, they both abruptly left the room. His haughty and peremptory tone had satisfied his guest that there was little hope at that time of drawing out their peculiar views in a friendly conversation. The official had gone, no doubt, to receive the commands of his superiors, and his guest meanwhile awaited his return, until the approach of the evening reminded him that it was time to set out for his ship some seven miles distant.

“ His attempt to leave was resisted by the attendants almost to the point of actual force, and with an exhibition of anger on the part of some of them, which contrasted strangely with the friendly feeling that seemed to prevail outside of the walls. The crowds in the streets, however, were perfectly respectful, and it was plain that the angry attendants had some wholesome dread of the power of the foreigner.

“ Whatever Hung-sew-tseuen may mean by calling himself the brother of Jesus, it is but justice to say that no evidence was found of its being insisted on as an essential article of faith among the mass of his followers. No other person but the one above referred to made an allusion to it ; and several officers who subsequently visited the steamer, when asked

what was meant by it, professed themselves unable to give any information on the subject. They were so evidently puzzled, that it was plain their attention had never been called to the matter before.

“ Each of the other kings has also assumed a high sounding title, as appears from the following ode, given out “ by the favour of the Heavenly Father, the Heavenly Elder Brother, and the Heavenly King, that all soldiers and people under heaven may celebrate praises in accordance with it.”

“ Praise the Supreme Ruler, who is the holy heavenly Father, the one only true God.

Praise the heavenly Elder Brother, the Saviour of the world, who laid down his life for men.

Praise the Eastern King, the holy Divine Breath (i.e. the Holy Spirit as used by Morrison) who atones for faults and saves men.

Praise the Western King, the rain-teacher, an high-as-heaven honorable man.

Praise the Southern King, the cloud-teacher, an high-as-heaven upright man.

Praise the Northern King, the thunder teacher, an high-as-heaven benevolent man.

Praise the assistant King, the lightning-teacher, an high-as-heaven righteous man.

How different are the true doctrines from the doctrines of the world :

They are able to save men's souls, causing the enjoyment of happiness without end.

The wise with exultation receive them as their source of happiness.

The foolish when awakened may know by them the way therein.

The grace of the heavenly Father is vast, exceeding great, without bounds.

He spared not his first-born Son, but sent him down into the world

To lay down his life for the redemption of our sins.

If men experience repentance, their souls shall ascend to heaven."

"The last part of the hymn is taken from the Book of Religious Precepts. The name of the "Celestial King," it will be observed, is omitted in the ode. Is it because he has forbidden its being so used? The second clauses of the stanzas relating to the Heavenly Brother and the Eastern King, have been altered since the first publication of the piece, by pasting a slip over the characters originally printed. Before the alteration, these clauses read respectively—

"An as high-as-heaven holy man,"

"And—

"An as high-as-heaven holy spirit."

The titles applied to these kings are no doubt mere empty names, without any specific meaning, and are not necessarily to be understood as implying a claim to super-earthly dignity.

Whatever may be thought of such an ode among persons better instructed, there is the best evidence that it is not regarded as offering worship to the Kings mentioned. The uniform testimony at Nankin was, that none but the Heavenly Father and Heavenly Elder Brother were worshipped. The worship is very simple. Before each of the three meals an offering is placed upon the table, consisting of three bowls of rice, three bowls of vegetables, and three cups of tea or wine. Then all join in a hymn, remaining seated, after which they kneel and offer a short prayer. There is preaching, as often as the proper authorities give orders for it. A large stage, erected in an open field, was said to be used as a pulpit on such occasions.

“ Little evidence was found of religious culture, or of any just appreciation, by the mass, of the doctrines of Christianity. This indeed could not be expected ; yet many of the multitude who visited the steamer could repeat the Ten Commandments as given in their books.

“ In speaking of the Deity they invariably use the expression Tien-foo, Heavenly Father. The printing of the Bible is still going on, and the Old Testament has been carried at least as far as Joshua. Their publications were repeatedly inquired for, but full sets

could not be procured. They were promised, however ; and, had there been more time, these promises would no doubt have been fulfilled.

“ Of the crowds who covered the decks of the steamers there were men from almost every province of the empire ; but Hoo-pih and Hoo-nan seem to have contributed most largely to the forces of the insurgents. A few were from Kwang-se. These latter were all young men of unusually fine appearance and more than ordinary intelligence, and they were distinguished by some peculiarities of dress.

“ On Wednesday morning, the vessels weighed anchor and proceeded up the river. One of the Susquehanna's men died during the day, and was buried on the following morning on a high point of land near the place of anchorage for the night, about twelve miles below Wu-hu. The place was hence named from the man whose body rests upon it—M'cKinley's Point. The expedition reached the city of Wu-hu Thursday morning. Here the most cordial feeling was manifested by the authorities and people. The visit to this place was of great interest, as it afforded an opportunity of learning from personal observation the character of the insurgent rule over the people in districts which are no longer the seat of war. The state of things is entirely different from that at Nankin. The people

are engaged in their ordinary avocations—shops are opened and trade carried on, as under the old regime, though the former prosperity of the place is by no means restored.

“ Here there is no separation of the men and women as at Nankin ; but the laws prohibiting the use of opium and tobacco are rigidly enforced. The people stand in great awe of their new rulers, and are obviously governed with a strong hand. The city has suffered severely in the war—a large portion of it having been burned, leaving many acres of land covered with heaps of rubbish and crumbling walls.

“ Few, if any of the people, had ever seen a foreigner or a foreign vessel before ; and their curiosity and wonder were very great. The greatest deference however was shewn to those who went ashore ; in several instances respectable men even fell on their knees in the street before the foreigners and their guides, to testify their respect. The place cannot have been more than three or four months under the undisturbed control of the insurgents, as was shown by the short hair of the inhabitants, who are not now permitted to shave the head. It was first taken on the 4th of March, 1853. The inhabitants probably fled at that time, and have since gradually returned.

“ Of the many officials who have visited the steamer,

one stated that he was on his way up the river to attend to the collection of the revenue. Another was going up for charcoal for the use of his "Celestial Majesty," and a third was in charge of a raft of heavy timber designed for the erection of palaces at Nankin for the parents of the five kings. A variety of coal was found at Wu-hu, said to have come from the province of Hoo-pih.

"The above are some of the most important facts brought to our knowledge by the visit of the *Susquehanna*. We are still left in a great measure destitute of the data necessary for forming a reliable judgment as to the character of the men who seem destined to rule this vast empire.

"May the *Susquehanna* prove but the harbinger of fleets of noble steamers, more numerous and powerful than those which now float on the bosom of those other "Sons of the Ocean" * in the opposite hemisphere. There is no where to be found a more noble river than the Yang-tse for the purposes of navigation."

"Shanghai, June 14, 1854.

As is justly observed in the above letter, the titles assumed in the above ode of praise are mere high-sounding titles to which they attach no very definite

* Yang-tse-keang means "Son of the Ocean."

idea ; and the use of them proceeds from an idea that evidently exists in the minds of some of them, that to ingratiate themselves the more with the people, or at least not to create any unnecessary hostility, they must adhere as far as possible to the traditionary usages of the Imperial court of the middle kingdom ;—and the supposition, that Yang-sew-tsing means anything so monstrous as to claim the titles and attributes of God the Holy Spirit proceeds from our viewing the expressions from our point of view,—from estimating the expression with our knowledge and feelings.

As I before stated, there is a tendency shewn also in this production on the part of Yang-sew-tsing towards Socinianism, for it evidently is not the production of Hung-sew-tseuen ; thus in the original clause of the ode, referring to our Lord he says, “ an as high-as-heaven holy *man*, ” and the amended clause equally shews the existence of a better influence which will doubtless eventually prevail.

That he does not mean to assume the attributes of the Holy Spirit is evident, for in that case he would assume a superiority to the celestial king, which is nowhere claimed or admitted ; and in “ these revelations ” he, Yang, states his own inferiority, not only to Hung-sew-tseuen, but also to the heir apparent—first, when he states the Celestial king to be of a God-like nature ;

and secondly, where he states that he is only the fourth elder brother. And it is further to be observed, that the Northern Prince and all the officers claim to be brethren of Yang the Eastern Prince ;—consequently brother is used in a religious sense.

That he does not claim the attributes of God the Holy Spirit is evident, for he says in these revelations —“ This suggestion is not what I, your younger brother, could have thought of spontaneously ; it is solely in consequence of the regeneration of mind conferred by our Heavenly Father, and Celestial elder brother ; it is also to be ascribed to the kind consideration displayed by you, my second elder brother.”

The following very important letter is from the Rev. Dr. Bridgman, who has studied Chinese for near thirty years :—

From the North China Herald, July 22.

“ To the Editor of the “ North China Herald.”

“ DEAR SIR,

“ In reply to many inquiries which have been made about the Insurgents, as seen at Chin-keang-fu, Nankin, and Wuhu, on the recent visit of the American Minister and his suit,—I submit for your readers the following brief paragraphs, embracing such particulars as seem most worthy of notice at this juncture.—The

character, and conduct, and principles of the men, who are turning this country upside down, claim the most considerate attention of the politician and the merchant, while to the missionary, and in view of the vast population of the empire, they have a thousand times more interest than words can express. The particulars given in detail, with few exceptions, are restricted to such facts as have been gathered up from personal observation and intercourse with the Insurgents,—*facts* too, for the most part, abundantly substantiated by books, which they themselves have written and published,

“ Yours, &c,

“ E. C. BRIDGMAN.”

“ *Shanghai, July 4, 1854.*

“ 1. Their government is a *theocracy*, the development apparently of what is believed by them to be a new dispensation. As in the case of the Israelites, under Moses, they regard themselves as directed by one who has been raised up by the Almighty to be the executor of his will on earth. They believe their body politic to be under the immediate direction of the Deity. Sometimes their leaders, they say, are taken up to heaven ; and sometimes the Heavenly Father comes down to them.*

* One of the new books brought from Nankin by our party,

" 2. Their government is a *mixed form*, half political and half religious. It would seem also to have both an earthly and a heavenly magistracy, or rather, perhaps, a visible and invisible machinery. They most distinctly avow a personal intercourse between their principal actors (men and women) on the one side, and the Heavenly Father and the Heavenly Elder Brother on the other. All their affairs of state—things temporal—are strangely blended with things divine. I say not *spiritual*, because I do not know what ideas they have of spirit and things spiritual.

" 3. Their government is, moreover, a *royal despotism*. In their new organization there is no Emperor, but a fraternity of kings (A) viz: a Heavenly King, an Eastern king, a Western king, a Southern king, a Northern king, and an Assistant king. These six royal personages, we were told, were all residing in their new capital, which they call *Tien keang* 'Heavenly Capital.' Under their sway there is no more to

and which I had not seen when I wrote the above paragraph, gives an account of a more recent descent of the heavenly Father. More on this topic in the sequel. Suffice it here to remark, that in this more recent case the heavenly Father commanded *Hung-seu-tseuen* to receive *forty blows of the bamboo*! Prefaced to this book is a list of one-and-twenty works published with the sanction of the Royal will.

* See Appendix (A.)

be, as of old a *Nankin*, 'Southern Capital,' or *Pekin*, 'Northern Capital,' or aught of this kind. (B)

" 4. This royal fraternity claims also, *universal sovereignty*. Of what the kingdoms and nations of the earth really are, in numbers and in power, these kings and their brethren are doubtless almost wholly ignorant; but their claim to universal dominion on earth, is put forth in language most unequivocal.

As the Heavenly Father, the Supreme Lord, the August High Ruler, is the only one true God, the Father of the souls of all nations under heaven; so, their heavenly King is the peaceful and true sovereign of all nations under heaven.

These, and words like these, are common, both in their conversation and in their writings; and from these—partly true and partly false premises, they draw the conclusion, that as all nations ought to obey and worship the only one true God, so ought they to bow submissively, and respectively *bring tribute* (C)—rare and precious gifts—to their heavenly King, even to Hung-sew-tseuen. Some of the great men of the realm were specially concerned, lest their 'brethren from a foreign land' should not at once and fully comprehend the oneness of the true doctrine, but should imagine that there really were such distinctions, that we might

* See Appendix (B).

† See Appendix (C).

speak of this kingdom and of that kingdom, and of my sovereign and your sovereign ! The address on a despatch from the Ministers of the court was, in courtesy, almost equal to that, in other revolutionary times, once conveyed to ' Mr. George Washington.' (D)

" 5. Their government is administered with *remarkable energy*. It is now only four or five years since it struggled into existence in some obscure place, called ' Golden Fields,' in the province of Kwang-see. There they fought their first battles ; and from thence, vanquishing, or rendering submissive, all the imperial hosts that went out against them. The Insurgents moved northward through the Lake provinces, and then, like the waters of the great river, eastward, carrying all before them, and taking possession of the old southern capital and Chiang-kaing-foo, the guardian city of the grand canal. Far in the distance, hovering over the hill tops—southward from Chiang-kiang-foo, and northward from Nankin, we saw encamped small bands of the Imperialists, while all the armed multitudes in, and immediately around these two cities, wrought up almost to frenzy, seemed eager to rush forth and take vengeance on them as their deadly foes,— ' fat victims,' said they, ' fit only for slaughter.' They exulted as they exhibited to us the scars and the

* See Appendix (D).

wounds they had received in bloody conflicts with the Mantchoo troops, always called by them 'monster demons.'

" 6. Their *order* and *discipline* are no less remarkable than their energy. Under their new *regime*, both tobacco and opium are prohibited. Every kind of strong drink, too, would seem to come into the same category, and if any is used, it is only by special permission. No woman or child was seen within the walls of Chiang-kiang-foo. For the time being, that city is made one vast camp. Its entire suburbs are in ruins, and all the houses within the walls, not required for service, are sealed up.

" At Wuhu there were few or no troops, but a vigilant police and a few cruisers. No inconsiderable portions of both the city and suburbs had been burnt in the storming of the place early last year ; but to those remaining undemolished, the people had returned :—whole families,—men, women, and children,—were seen in their own houses, merchants in their shops, and market people going and coming with provisions—all most submissive to the officers and police, as they passed along the streets.

" It was in their ' holy city ' however, as they frequently called their new capital, that their order and discipline were observed in the greatest perfection.

Parts of the city were appropriated exclusively for the use of the wives and daughters of those men who were abroad in their armies, or elsewhere employed in the public service: these I did not see, nor was it ascertained by those who traversed the city, how far this separation of the sexes is maintained. On two occasions I was at the North gate, and had much conversation with the officers there in command.

“ They called themselves the relatives of the assistant king. No one was allowed to pass out of that gate without leaving a ticket, with a registry of the name, &c., of the person; and no one could enter without permission. For those returning, it was sufficient to report their names and receive back their tickets; but when a stranger arrived, a long and minute examination had to be gone through, and the case duly reported, and a permit received before an entrance could be had.

“ A case of this sort occurred while I was there. Several women had passed in on horseback, and now came one attended by her aged mother and servant. As they approached the outer gate (for there are two, an outer and an inner, the wall being some sixty feet thick) they all dismounted. The aged woman and her servant were new comers, brought in from some remote place by the daughter. Accordingly an examination

must be had. This was at once commenced, and when I came away the whole party was still kept outside of the outer gate. Everywhere else—as well as in the ‘holy city,’ extreme watchfulness was observed in the maintenance of order; and all irregularities, and infractions of the laws, were rebuked or punished with a promptitude seldom seen among the Chinese. All persons, without exception, had their appointed places and their appropriate duties assigned, and all moved like clockwork. In short, martial law, throughout all their lines—in their streets, in their boats, and wherever else they were seen—was the order of the day.

“7. Their *religious creed*, though it may recognize, in some sort, all or most of the doctrines of the Bible, is, through ignorance or perverseness, or *both*, grievously marred with error. While their government,—as already remarked,—is of a mixed form, being partly religious; having in it a very strong religious element; still they have no churches.

“There is no community separate from their one body politic; at least none appears, and no traces of any could we find.

“Christians they may be, in name; and they are in very deed, iconoclasts of the strictest order. They have in their possession probably the entire Bible, both the Old and New Testaments; and are publishing

what is usually known as 'Gutzlaff's version' of the same. I have said, therefore, that, in 'some sort,' they may recognize its doctrines. How far their errors are to be attributed to errors or defects in that version, is a question which I must not here discuss. Their ideas of the Deity are exceedingly imperfect. Though they declare plainly that there is 'only One True God,' yet the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, the equality of the Son with the Father, and many other doctrines generally received by Protestant Christians, as being clearly revealed in the Bible, are by them wholly ignored. True, they have formulas in which some of these doctrines are taught; but then these are borrowed formulas, and they have used them without comprehending their true import. So I believe; and I think this is made manifestly plain in the new version of their Doxology, or Hymn of Praise, where *Yang-seu-tsing*, the Eastern King, is proclaimed the *Paraclete*, the Holy Spirit.*

"Our Saturday we found observed by them as a Sabbath day; but they appeared not to have any houses for public worship, nor any Christian teachers, ministers of the Gospel properly so called. Forms of domestic worship, forms of prayer, of thanksgiving, &c., &c., they have; and all their people, even

* See Appendix (E.)

such as cannot read, are required to learn and use these. We saw them repeatedly at their devotions; some of them were exceedingly reverent and devout, while others were quite the reverse. Most, who were asked to do it, promptly recited that form of the Decalogue which is given in their tracts. *Tien-Teu*, 'Heavenly Father,' was the appellative used almost invariably by them, when speaking of the Deity.

"A form of Baptism was spoken of by them; but no allusion was made by them to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper.

"We found them, according to their reformed calendar, discarding the old notions of lucky places, times, &c.

"May 27th, A.D. 1854, the day the *Susquehanna* and the *Confucius* arrived off the 'Heavenly Capital,' was marked in their chronology 'the 21st day of the 4th month of the 4th year of the Great Peaceful Heavenly Kingdom.'

"8. To the inquiries, What is their *literary* character? and, What their general intelligence?—their books and state-papers afford almost the only sure data we have for answers. Great numbers of proclamations were seen on the gates and walls of the cities visited, and most of them were from Yang, the Eastern King. These included a much greater circle

of topics than is found in their books, and, as to style, were, like their books, not above mediocrity.

“ The distribution of food, of clothes, and of medicines, the payment of taxes, the preservation of property, the observance of etiquette and decorum, and injunctions to repair to certain quarters for vaccination,—these were among the topics discussed in them. One document announced the names of sundry candidates, who had been successful in winning honours at a recent literary examination in the Heavenly Capital.

“ The Commandant at Chin-keang may perhaps be taken as a fair specimen of their officers, both as to literary attainments and general knowledge. He has been chief in command since the departure of *Lo*, some three months back, to join the northern army. He is a native of one of the Eastern departments of the province of Canton, and has travelled over half of the empire. This man, *Wu* by name, hardly knew that there were any foreign kingdoms. The national ensign borne on our ships—‘ the stars and stripes ’—was a new thing to him ! ‘ It had never before,’ he said, ‘ been seen on the waters of the Great River.’

“ The use of the white flag was equally strange to him. He was, however, in his general bearing, more courteous than any one of his fellow-officers, and no-

thing could well have been more dignified than his language, and especially his note. It was a manly apology for the shot which had been fired, and couched in terms wholly unexceptionable. Taking them all in all, however, as we saw them, both officers and people, the Insurgents cannot be ranked high for their literary character or their general intelligence. Certainly 'much learning hath not made them mad.'

" 9. Of their *social* condition very little is known. To a certain extent, at least, they have a community of interests. The old dogma, that all the land and water, and all people under heaven, belong to the Sovereign, 'Heaven's Son,' does not seem to have been discarded by them. By what tenure all these are held I do not know. But as under all the old dynasties, so now, with the 'long-haired gentry,' those wanted for soldiers must be soldiers; those needed for the river service, must serve on the rivers. The same rule obtained in each department of the state. With very few exceptions, no one seemed to say that aught of the things he possessed was his own. Whether this results from the necessities of the case, or is an established principle with them, I could not ascertain. Certain it is, however, that immense stores and treasures had been accumulated by them, and that those were daily being augmented.

“ 10. Their *numerical strength* and the *extent of territory under their control*, are by no means inconsiderable. They said they had undisputed control from Chin-keang-foo, four hundred miles up the Great River ; and that, besides the large numbers of troops garrisoned and entrenched about Chin-keang, Kwachow, and the ‘Heavenly Capital,’ they had *four armies* in the field, carrying on active aggressive operations : two of these had gone northward, one along the Grand Canal, and one farther westward ; they were designed to co-operate, and after storming and destroying Peking, to turn westward and march through Shansi, Shensi, Kians-oo, into Sy-chuen, where they are expected to meet their other two armies, which from Keang-si and the Lake provinces, are to move up the Great River, and along through the regions on its southern bank.

“ 11. The *personal appearance* of their men in arms, and of their women on horseback, was novel. They formed a very heterogenous mass, having been brought together from several different provinces, principally from Gwangwui, Keang-si, Hoopeh, Hoonan, Kwang-si, and Kwang-tung. The finest men we saw, were from the hills of Keang-si, and those from Hoonan were the meanest and the least warlike. Their arms and accoutrements were quite after the old fashion of the

Chinese ; but their red and yellow turbans, their long hair, and their silk and satin robes, so unlike the ordinary costume of the black-haired troops, made the Insurgents appear like a new race of warriors. All the people we saw were very well clad, well fed, and well provided for in every way. They all seemed content, and in high spirits, as if sure of success.

“ 12. Their *further progress*, judging from their past career, is almost certain. In all probability they are destined, under the inscrutable providence of God, to overrun the whole eighteen provinces, to break down the principal cities, to slaughter the Mantchoos, and to sweep away every vestige of their authority. At their approach, the people and the retainers of the old administration are everywhere assailed, and fly like chaff before the stormy wind. Their *ultimate success*, in establishing and consolidating a new empire, wide and prosperous as that of the ancestors of Hien-fung, is less, far less probable.

“ 13. In the present attitude of affairs their *bearing towards foreigners* is becoming every month and every day more and more a matter of grave and exciting interest. Their officers, at Chin-keang and Nankin, told us, again and again, that their troops would not approach Shanghai, and that, for the present, they would have nothing to do with the city of Canton.

They remarked also, what is here well known, that the Insurgents in Shanghai are anxious to join them, and that many thousands of the people in the city and province of Canton are their true friends, their brethren.* Still, in every thing that was said by their high officials in the Celestial Capital, a tone and a spirit of high assumption were too extraordinary—too far from the simple dictates of all reason—to be passed by unheeded, as idle vaunting.

“ Will that royal fraternity, and their ministers of state,—if they become masters of the middle kingdom—recognize the existing treaties between the Chinese empire on the one side, and the governments of England, France, and the United States on the other? Most assuredly they will not, except on compulsion, or unless they willingly descend from their high position. They, the ‘ Second Son ’ of the most High God, and his royal associates, they, and *they alone* are to be the *dispensers of all authority, and all instruction*, in that their Heavenly kingdom, truly ordained of Heaven, and of which they are to be *the head and the chief supports*. ”

* See Appendix (F).

CHAPTER VII.

THE TRIADS—CAPTURE OF AMOY—THEIR PROCLAMATION OF TIEN-TEH—SHANGHAI—FEARS OF THE TOUTAI—SHANGHAI CAPTURED BY A PARTY OF TRIADS—DANGER TO THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH SETTLEMENT—LIBERality OF THE TRIADS—LOSS OF THREE HUNDRED LIVES—AMOY—RECAPTURE BY IMPERIALISTS—THEIR HORRID BARBARITIES—HOSTILITY TO IMPERIALISTS ORIGINATED—INFATUATION OF IMPERIALISTS, AND THEIR CRUELITIES AT SHANGHAI—DANGER TO LIFE IN ENGLISH QUARTER—DESTRUCTION OF IMPERIAL CAMP BY ENGLISH AND AMERICANS—TRIADS AT CANTON—PROBABILITY OF ITS FALL.

I MUST here turn aside from the general narrative, to follow the Hermes, in order to trace the progress of another and quite distinct class of rebels, who have been, and are too frequently and injuriously, confounded with those in Nankin.

The conduct of the former, though much better than that of the Imperialists, is so much worse than that of the Nankin Insurgents, that the latter appear in most favourable contrast.

That they should be seen in contrast is necessary, in order to form a correct estimate of the character of the great movement, and of the influences they must be under to produce such favourable results, and results so little Chinese.

Sir George Bonham having satisfied himself that there was no danger to the British community to be apprehended from the Insurgents, determined to return to his seat of government, Hong-kong, which he did in the *Hermes*.

But as the merchants made a requisition, that the force then at Shanghai should not be lessened, he acceded so far to their wishes, as to state that he would make a requisition to the senior officer, to send that ship back, or replace her by another of equal force.

While these events were in progress, the Triads, or Short Sword Society, were conspiring in many parts throughout the country, intending to take advantage of any opportunity that the progress of the movement should afford them, and possess themselves of whatever place or power they could.

On arriving at the city of Amoy, we found that some of these, in pursuance of these plans, had taken possession of it, meeting with only a nominal resistance; ten or twelve lives only having been lost, and some of these were by accident.

On obtaining possession, they behaved with singular moderation for men in such straightened circumstances; for they were those from amongst the poorest classes, and many of whom were said to be of very indifferent character.

The movement was clearly a popular one, for otherwise it were impossible that they could have effected its capture so quietly and with so little loss.

It is further evident that it was extensively popular, from the fact that possession was retained so long only by continual relays of country people, who brought their own supplies with them, and continued to fight as long as these lasted.

These, on obtaining possession, had proclaimed Tien-teh as Emperor; though, if there had been such a person, he had some time before been decapitated: and in answer to our questions, as to how it was they proclaimed him, under these circumstances?—they said, that it was quite true that he was dead—that he had been killed; but that their movement also had originated in “Kwang-si,” where he had been first proclaimed; but that now they recognized Hung-sew-tseuen, or Tae-ping, who was Tien-teh’s cousin; and that they had sent a deputation to tender their allegiance to him.

This latter statement is evidently incorrect, and

contains an idea that there was an impression amongst the Triads, that there was a descendant of the "Mings" in the camp, and that his title was Tien-teh; but if there ever had been such a person, he never was recognized as head of the movement.

As to their religious profession, they made little; they were liberal, but still idolaters to a limited extent, perhaps, more properly, superstitious; had no knowledge of Christianity, but had learnt, for the most part, to despise idolatry.

They had been admitted to Chang-chow, a large city, twenty miles up the Amoy River, but had been driven out by the inhabitants, who, after admitting them, had become alarmed at the prospect of exactions for the purposes of the war, which the rebels had commenced to levy.

Though these had determined at first to govern themselves, they finally recalled the Imperialist party; but they were obliged to keep their gates closed, as the country people remained still hostile; and this they continued, till the recapture of Amoy by the Imperialists.

The Insurgents having placed guards over the European Hongs, there was nothing to apprehend, so we proceeded to Hong-kong, when, after landing Sir George Bonham, we returned in the *Hermes* to Shanghai;

for though apprehension respecting the Nankin insurgents was allayed by our visit, yet there was, or might be, much to fear from the idle and dissolute, of whom there are always so many in populous towns, and who watch for every movement of a revolutionary kind, to take advantage of the temporary suspension of order, to commit depredations. This element largely existed at Shanghai ; at least the Toutai more than once assured us, that we need be much on our guard ; and invariably said that the Fokein men (men of that province) were very hostile to the English, and would certainly resent the many affronts that had been put on them by the English.

These consisted, for the most part, in their wish to obtain possession of land for building and other purposes, which they had paid for to individuals, and were entitled to under the Treaty ; but which was objected to by the authorities, upon some plea or other, that ought not to have been offered or allowed to have any weight.

In this way the spirit of the Treaty was being constantly violated by the Imperialists.

This man, the Toutai of Shanghai always used the organization which existed amongst the Triads, to prevent any extension of the comforts or accommodation of the merchant-community, and by a curious

retribution, this same party was that which was destined not long after, to deprive him of his government, and threaten his life. He induced them to resist the carrying into effect what he could not in fairness refuse to sanction, but what he did not wish should be granted,—by stimulating their prejudices of ancestry, or other superstitions against it; in fact, what he could, he did, to make Europeans unpopular, and to preserve the old exclusive system.

The apprehensions on the part of the European community, that something was about to take place, seems to have been borne out by the result: Even this Governor partook of them, for he evidently was expecting change without precisely knowing what form it would take, or how it would affect himself. We had daily intimation of his preparations, which he professed were for the purpose of repelling the Nankin Insurgents, but it was evident that he saw there was something nearer home which might eventually give him trouble; though its extent he never realized.

He newly armed and drilled militia-men; surrounded himself with Canton men, he himself being from that province; these he paraded through the English quarters to the number of 2000, with what purpose it is difficult to imagine. A more motley group of ragamuffins I never saw, and it was clear the

Europeans had more to fear from this brave army as plunderers than they could ever hope for as protectors.

Our Consul, however, well knowing his man, always told him, that he, the Toutai, had much better take steps for his own safety and that of his government, than trouble himself about Europeans who could defend themselves. The result justified this opinion, for it appeared that the Triads had been plotting not only in Shanghai, but throughout the surrounding district, and so well, that they nearly succeeded in all their plans.

On the 7th of September, the authorities at Shanghai and several other places, were simultaneously attacked by them, and those at Shanghai succeeded in gaining possession of the city, killing the Chi-hien, and making Sam-qua the Toutai, prisoner : his life seems in the first instance only to have been saved by some of the men of his own province, that he had hired to be round his person, others of them were amongst the worst conspirators ; two days afterwards, however, he was released through the influence of, and smuggled over the wall, by an English and an American merchant, to requite his deliverance by falsehood and great ingratitude ; yet in this he was true to his character, and the traditionary policy of his government :—exceptions may be cited, but this is the rule.

These gentlemen, it is said, influenced by his protestations, pledged themselves, that if his life and liberty were granted them, "he should in no way interfere with the operations of the rebels in possession of Shanghai, and in whose hands his life then was."

"He begged his life like a whinny puppy, gave up his seals, which a Chinese officer is permitted to do only with his life; gave some intimations of joining the rebels, or returning to his native village on parole; but instead of honestly carrying out these pretensions, he turned round, and like a pusillanimous scamp, brought an army against the city, is taking an active part in the war, and causing the sacrifice of many lives better than his own."

This man was a fair type of the most highly honoured of the followers of Hien-fung, the Tartar Emperor. These Triads also seem to have conducted themselves with great moderation, but had scarcely been in possession of power, before a conflict arose amongst themselves for supremacy; for though their societies were founded for the same object, (the overthrow of the Mantchoo) and organized upon the same internal plan, they yet have separate lodges or clubs for each province, in which they preserve their distinctive provincialisms,—or I may say, nationalities.

The Toutai had so little expectation of this speedy

expulsion, that he had not taken the precaution to secure or remove the public treasure ; though he had done so on the occasion of the first panic from the reported approach of the Nankin Insurgents, and when this subsided the treasure was returned ; in consequence the rebels are said to have captured 200,000 taels, about £70,000, equal to much more ; this, amongst other things, was a bone of contention, as was also the Toutai himself. The Fokien men wished to take his head, but as I before stated, he was saved by some of the Kwang-tong men ; the latter party sent a deputation escorted by about fifty men, armed, to inform the Consul that we had better be on our guard, as the Fokien men contemplated an attack upon the English quarters, which they would certainly put in force, did they get the upper hand in the city ; this, however, was but a mean used to induce us to throw our influence into the Kwang-tong scale, that they might obtain the ascendancy, which once attained, they were even more likely to turn round against us. This man spoke very good English ; a number here and at Amoy, amongst the rebel parties, spoke a little English, and had evidently mixed much with the Europeans, that is as much as Chinese ever do, which in reality is not much.

The city is separated from the English quarter, by a

stream which has two bridges over it ; so to be on our guard against all parties, we determined to place a piquet at each of these ; two more at other points, and a party to patrol with a field-piece, at uncertain hours through the night.

At first they made some attempts to break our *Cordon*, and gave us much trouble ; but finding we were determined, they gave up the point—they were only formidable from their numbers and their treachery. On one occasion, a party of sixty taking advantage of the sentry turning in his walk rushed across the bridge ; on his perceiving this, he turned the piquet out, consisting of an officer, a corporal, and three men, who immediately charged after them, upon which several of them in great trepidation called out, No wantchee ! no wantchee !—whereupon they were brought back and passed over the bridge again.

On another occasion we had information, that the French quarter was to be attacked ; and as there was no French man-of-war present, and the Consul of that nation having applied for protection, I felt bound to give it, and in consequence doubled our sentries and patrols, and had a large party on the bridge with a field-piece, leading to the French quarter all night. There was a confused noise frequently heard in the city, and bodies of men rushing about ; but, whether

deterred by our strength or not, I cannot say ; there was no attack made.

These also, as those at Amoy, issued a proclamation, stating, that their movement was in obedience to " heaven's command ;"—a style of expression which seems to be a formula amongst the Chinese, and seems to mean only a fatalist expression or acknowledgment of an overruling providence.

They knew little of the character of the great movement, but they still looked to it, and after some uncertainty as to what they should do, finally declared for Tae-ping, who nevertheless repudiated them, because they did not profess the same faith, and adhere to the " Heavenly rules " or ten commandments ;—distinctly specifying that they smoked opium, drank samshoo, and were guilty of other impurities.

They knew nothing of Christianity, but are very tolerant, and allowed the Missionaries a latitude in teaching, never before enjoyed. They have lost all faith in idolatry, and no longer cared to preserve appearances, by continuing idolatrous worship, though some of them still use superstitions and idolatries. They have behaved with much moderation, and the facilities for trade have been even greater than under the Tartar Imperial rule. Of course the import trade has been limited, because of the disturbed state of the

interior ;—the export trade on the other hand had been unusually great, not from any protection or facilities afforded by the Imperial authorities, but a desire on the part of holders of goods to realize, bullion being more easily concealed,—or otherwise to place them as they conceived in a greater state of safety. This state of things has produced many striking instances of the high estimation in which English probity is held ;—very many Chinese having taken silks and teas to houses, and though told that these had no money, nor could it be got, dollars and bullion being buried, or otherwise disappearing as fast as brought into the country, they said, “Take them, we will trust you.”

The continuance of this kind of occupation, protecting European settlements, though necessary to prevent spoliation and conflict that would end in the loss of life, was so unsatisfactory and harassing to both my officers and men, that I was not sorry to be relieved, which we were by the *Spartan* ; and we proceeded to Amoy, by way of the Magi Cossima Islands, to pick up the survivors of three hundred and sixty who had been wrecked in the *Eveline*, of whom thirty-three survived. This was another of the melancholy catastrophes which arise from ignorance of the law of storms on the part of Commanders and Mates of ships. The *Hermes* was in this same storm, though several hundred miles from the

centre, and abundant warning was given of its approach, and the direction in which the storm was moving.

These people were treated with very great kindness by the inhabitants ; being provided not only with food, but also clothing.

We carried them to Amoy, which was still in the possession of the rebel Triads, who had made several unsuccessful attempts to capture places in the vicinity of that city ; the effect of which failures, was to lessen their influence, yet still their movement was so far popular, that it only required that they should have made a little more progress, to have ensured complete success ;—a little more would have obtained the adhesion of the monied classes ;—wanting it, they remained aloof from both parties, nor did they take any part, till success was on the point of declaring for the Imperialists.

The Imperialists had from time to time made unsuccessful attempts to retake Amoy, and by September had accumulated a force, said to amount to 20,000 men, on the land side, with a force of fifty war-junks on the sea-side, having guns numbering in each from four to fourteen, of calibres varying as high as 32-pd. carronades : half of them were pirate junks hired, two of the leading men amongst whom had been promoted to be mandarins of the blue-button class.

By the first of October we had returned and found the Imperialists making nearly daily attacks from the land side, which they continued with occasional combined attacks from land and sea, until the place was evacuated by the Triads on the 11th of November. They were too great cowards ever to have taken it, and nothing could have been more contemptible than the whole affair, more especially on the part of the Imperialists, whose numbers must have been five times those of the rebels, and their military appointments and resources were proportionably better and greater. Any hundred of our men, with a field-piece, would have taken the place in a few hours at furthest.

The Insurgents being without supplies of food or ammunition, determined to evacuate, which they did in open day, in comparative order and complete immunity from attack.

The Imperialists were absolutely afraid to scale the walls, till the last rebel had left the citadel; nor is this a figure of speech, for many thousands of them retired, on finding that there were a few rebels still in the place, though the main body was in full retreat, and the whole soon followed; nor did the fleet and piratical junks approach on the sea-side until all the rebel vessels had left.

Not but that these last could have done more, but

they did not wish; being quite content to continue going through the form of fighting as long as the Imperial officers had money to pay them; and of course they only went into danger when they had no alternative.

Having engaged pirates, the authority was committed to them, to sanction the atrocities that these would certainly commit; and, as if that were not sufficient, they encouraged them to more than they might otherwise be inclined to, for they promised them six dollars for each head they would bring in.

On the entry of these savages, the first thing they did was to disperse in every direction in search of heads—regardless of anything save that the people who possessed them should be helpless; it mattered not to them that they were equally infirm and unoffending: they had heads—these they wanted.

All found were brought to the Chinese admiral, whose vessel was close to us, so we saw all that was passing. He then issued a mandate for their destruction. At first they began by taking their heads off at the adjoining pier; this soon was fully occupied, and the executioners becoming fatigued, the work proceeded slowly, therefore an additional set commenced taking their heads off on the sides of the boats. This also proved too slow for them, and they commenced to

throw them overboard, tied hand and foot. But this was too much for Europeans ; so missionaries, merchants, sailors, marines, and officers, all rushed in, and stopped further proceedings. The mandarins, executioners, staff, and all, took themselves off very quickly, for fear of consequences they could not calculate upon, but which they felt they had richly deserved : 400 poor creatures were saved from destruction ; 250 of these were wounded—some with twenty, others less, but more dangerous wounds. Some had their heads nearly severed ; about thirty died. The mandarins then removed their scene of butchery a mile outside the town ; and during the next two days, after having obtained possession, they must have taken off upwards of two thousand heads, or otherwise destroyed that number of people. For days bodies were floating about the harbour, carried out by one tide and brought back by another, each time not quite so far, so that finally they were only disposed of by being taken to sea. Many on whom sentence of death was not passed, had their noses slit or cut off ; others the ears cut off, or nailed to a post in the sun, and subject to the injury and insult of the less ill-disposed persons.

I could not fail to see that this treatment excited the sympathy of many of the passers-by ; and, on one occasion, that the ill treatment of one of them nailed

to a post, called down upon the individual an execration that made him instantly desist and walk off. The only feeling the brutal pirates evinced was that of disappointment at being deprived (as they said) by us of three thousand dollars.

So little sympathy did the mandarins meet with, and so little could they depend upon their own twenty thousand soldiers, that they requested protection of our consul against the same pirates, who only sought payment in full of the terms previously agreed upon.

The Consul fearing an indiscriminate plunder, that would eventually extend itself to English life and property, sent to the Pirates to say that if they took any steps contrary to the wish of the Mandarin, they would be sunk by our ships.

Often during the operations, the poor people complained of the treatment of the Imperialists, and it was certainly pitiable to behold the needless destruction of property—needless if the Imperialists had been soldiers or men—such never won or kept an empire; yet none of the Imperial forces are better.

Many of the people afterwards spoke of the kindness of the foreigners; and it 'proved a password in places where they would have been insulted, if their lives had not also been endangered.

Nor can it be said that these were the acts of sub-

ordinates, for which the Government was only remotely responsible, for they were specially dictated by the Viceroy of the province, who was a Tartar, and an uncle of the Tartar Emperor.

He even enjoined the violation of solemn compacts entered into between the Mandarins and heads of villages, before they would give up the leaders in the revolt.

The Mandarins avowed, that after the government of Amoy was established, they meant to carry fire and sword through the surrounding districts, as the people were all tainted with revolutionary principles.

Happily the spirit that was abroad was too much for them, and they did not attempt any thing so monstrous ; though it is much to be feared that they took the lives of many by the treachery and lying which enters so largely into the plans of Mantchoo rule.

The scenes that immediately preceded the above-described butchery, were in themselves striking beyond description, the panic of the people well knowing what would follow on the rebels leaving, was such, that hundreds rushed down upon the piers to escape with them ; many put off on tables and chairs, planks, in fact, anything or nothing, even women with children in their arms rushed into the water, and of course hundreds were drowned.

In the first instance we could do little for their assistance, and many went down in our sight, as we had to land our marines to provide for the safety of the Europeans, who though not actually, as far as we knew, menaced, yet might be, at any moment, after the arrival of these two thousand pirates.

One of the missionaries who was employed pulling the poor butchered creatures out of the mud, was asked by a Mandarin of this so-called paternal government, why he did so, as the lives of these people were not worth anything? On the motive however, being explained to him, he thought for a few moments, and then answered, "Oh, it is very good, you are quite right."

I venture to say that many years will elapse before the memory of this very simple act of humanity will be forgotten by the people of Amoy, and I believe its effects will outlive the memory of the oldest.

We must again revert to the city of Shanghai, in possession of the portion of Triads who first took it, and in whose hands it was, up to the latest accounts. In process of time, Samqua, the Toutai of Shanghai, on being delivered, as I before described, collected a large force from Sou-chow, Hang-chow, and even pirates from Canton, with a view to the recapture of the city of Shanghai. His camp was placed not far

from the English quarter, and the troops used to approach as near to the houses within it, as they were permitted ; to permit them actually to enter, composed as they were, of pirates and other rascals, all unpaid, would certainly have brought on a collision, loss of life, and property. In consequence of which, sentries from the ships in port were continued on the bridges connecting the English quarter with the city, with a guard between it and the camp.

The necessity for these precautions was shewn at the time, by the treatment which this uncontrolled assemblage of ruffianism dealt out to the poor helpless inhabitants of the surrounding villages ; people whom, both from duty and policy, they ought to have protected and fostered—a specimen of which may best be given in their own language, confirmed by reliable testimony.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTH CHINA HERALD.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Herewith I forward to you the artless but harrowing petition of six honest villagers. Besides these, my doors are beset by weeping widows and heart-broken mothers, whose husbands and sons have been cruelly murdered by these ruthless vagabonds, who are

too cowardly to face the foe, but who have the audacity to violate women in open day, and strew the fields with the dead bodies of those of whom they are the natural protectors. These are not idle tales, but striking facts, and rest upon the most credible testimony. The poor people thus abused and butchered, have no method of making their complaints heard in the proper quarter. The petition is indeed addressed to the high officers of the Imperial government, but the petitioners dare not present it. If they venture within the precincts of the Imperial camp, they are cut down without mercy and their heads exposed on a pole. Amongst the foreign community, however, they will find sympathizers, and knowing that every honest bosom will burn with indignation at the hearing of these atrocities,—I have translated the petition and send it for insertion in your journal, hoping that some method may be adopted for their relief.

Lew, (*The Imperial Commissioner*), to whose band these wretches belong, told me that his bowels yearned over the dear inhabitants of the place, who were in part the children of the great Emperor, and that it was purely out of compassion to them, lest perhaps he might injure one honest man among the many rogues, that he did not scale the walls and take the city on

the first day of his arrival. This man's cowardice is only equalled by his hypocrisy.

I am, yours,

W. H. MEDHURST.

Nov, 1, 1853.

"The petition of Luh-yu-ch'hang, Yuon-kwei-leang, Yeh-fung-chun, Chin-sze-hang, Kiu-ping-chin, and Wang-keing-chan, with many others who reside in the various tythings of the 27th hundred, and have to complain of robbery, rape, murder, and arson, imploring that steps may be taken to repress further outrage, and save the lives of the people.

"We, the above-named people, living in the quiet villages of the various tythings of the 27th, and the 4th tything of the 25th hundred, two or three miles distant from the city of Shanghai, depend upon husbandry and weaving for our support, without mixing in any outside disturbances. But recently, on the 30th of October last, in the afternoon, the volunteer soldiers belonging to the contingent from Hoo-Kwang, came suddenly in a body, armed with weapons, and rushed upon our villages, entering into our several houses to plunder our property ;—and when we reasoned the matter with them they answered with scorn, and proceeded to ravish our females :—when we fur-

ther pointed out the evil of these proceedings, they immediately beheaded Wang-chang-kin, and Wang-kean-ke, while they stabbed to death Tsien-king-pang, Chang-ho-kwang and How-seih-ch'hang, besides wounding nine others, both male and female. They then burnt down our houses, amounting to seventy-seven apartments, a list of which is appended to this petition. Just in the midst of our calamity, an English gentleman happened fortunately to pass by, at the sight of whom the volunteer soldiers dispersed and returned to their camp. Besides the above atrocities, the soldiers have been in the habit of going about in companies of three or four, and wherever they could spy opportunity, they have seized upon passers-by, whose clothes they have violently taken away, and robbed them of their money; when the least unwillingness has been manifested, they have seized the individuals and demanded large sums for their redemption, so that travellers have not dared pass by. We, the petitioners, thought we were unhappy in lighting upon troublous times, when the * rebels overran the country, and seeing the Imperial troops come, we hoped that these would be swept away. Little did we think however, that we should have to endure the robbery, rape, arson, and murder above detailed. Our lives are

* The Triads in possession of Shanghai.

now in the greatest danger, and the cry of complaint is heard throughout the whole country on this account. We have dared to prefix our names to the present petition, and pray in a body the great officers, to compassionate the poor people, *who are after all the foundation of the country.* We implore your gracious attention to this request, and pray you to repress these volunteer soldiers, commanding them to obey the laws, and protect the people. A most fervent petition. Hien-fung, 3rd year, 10th month, 1st day. November 1st, 1853."

The only answer these poor creatures could obtain was, "Such things are doubtless very wrong—but they are the work of idlers and vagrants who personate my soldiers. I will issue strict orders to my troops—now go and be satisfied.—*I hope a worse thing will not befall you.*"

By April 20,000 men had been collected from various points, and being without any regular pay, they were equally without controul, and considered they had full right to levy contributions where and from whom they could, when was verified the old proverb, "Ill got, ill gone," for the produce of their plunder was spent in samshoo (spirits) and opium, which appropriation of course, completed the disorganization and increased the craving for more. The fruits of Samqua's policy now began to shew itself; the hos-

tility to the Europeans, that he had always fostered but hitherto had been able to keep within bounds, now overmastered him :—acts of personal violence on Europeans was committed by some of the soldiery, and on representation being made, the Toutai said, “ Keih, the chief authority over them, has several times prohibited the troops from exciting disturbances, but alas! with 10,000 men or more, discipline is relaxed,” and Kieh himself says “ The troops now stationed about Shanghai, with the vagrants and idlers from different provinces, amount to above 20,000 men.” Again ;—“ The vagrants and idlers, whose number is immense, will (if provoked) be utterly beyond my single-handed controul.”

The chief denied the many acts of personal violence that were committed, being done by any of his soldiers, though they wore Imperial uniforms, or badges ; but the character of some of these acts precludes the possibility of admitting any such excuse for them. “ Thus the Imperial troops made it a habit to place their targets for ball-practice, so that the riding-course and principal place of resort for all foreigners; should be rendered dangerous, or impassable ;” while they could have placed them in such a position, that the balls should strike the defences of their enemy, if they did not sometimes strike individuals of them also.

They had also on one occasion attempted to fire the settlement.

Hearing with only remonstrances against this unparalleled conduct, some of the Imperialists were emboldened to attack a house in the settlement ; but, meeting with resistance, they returned to the camp and obtained further assistance, upon which they made a somewhat regular attack, but the guard was turned out, and they were repulsed with loss.

At this stage, European forbearance was worn out ; to prevent worse, the Consuls,—in the exercise of a sound discretion,—gave notice that the camp must be moved further from the English quarter ; failing which, they would have the Imperial forces attacked, and driven away, which was eventually done, as the camp was not moved, neither could the consuls obtain other than the usual concise answers of Imperial officers. They were not, however, driven away without loss of life, two being killed, and fifteen wounded, on the European side ; and it is said, three-hundred killed on the side of the Imperialists. A native writer, commenting on the affair, states, “ that the consuls had no other alternative, and that if they had deferred operations twenty-four hours, the Imperialists would have attacked the European Hong.”

The Emperor himself seems to have taken the same

view ; for " he could not believe that three-hundred men would venture to attack 20,000 ;" and yet, though he thus admitted that his officers were to blame, it is stated, that some of our Chinese authorities wished to throw the blame, partly at least, upon the consuls. This coquetting with the Imperial authorities looks like infatuation, and cannot fail to lower us in their estimation ; if the knowledge that we are so demeaning ourselves does not tend to embroil us with the gradually ascending party, it is a question if they have not already shewn a disposition to resent this departure from our avowed neutrality.

The latest news from Shanghai is, that Samqua is degraded, and the place still remains, and is likely to continue, in the possession of the Triad rebels, who seem, by degrees, to be adopting the restrictions of the Nankin insurgents.

We must now turn to another body of the Triads—those at Canton ; who are also often mixed up in thought by general readers of the accounts from China—these are now investing Canton.

As early as 1853, there were serious disturbances in the vicinity of Canton ; of what precise character we are not informed ; this only was certain, that great atrocities were committed on both sides, and finally, it was reported that the Imperial authorities had suc-

ceeded in stifling the outbreak ; it would appear, however, only for a time.

In April, 1854, we find, in "The Friend of China," the following extract, which fully shews the degradation of which human nature is capable, and to which it has fallen in the case of many Chinese :—"Idolatry has much to answer for, how much it were impossible to say ; but anything seems to be better than it."

"From Canton, we learn that there are banditti at not a great distance from the city, committing fearful atrocities. It would appear that, in revenge for betrayal of some of their comrades, after plundering the houses of everything, young children have been caught and crucified by hundreds, in the sight of their agonized mothers, who, frantic, but powerless, have dashed their (*own*) brains out against the walls at the horrid sight. These fiends in human shape, (some five-hundred are spoken of as in one body) are distinguished by red scarfs across the shoulders ; and the Canton government, "powerful" as it has been termed, is not able to exterminate them. This banditti, as they were at first called, have gradually grown into such a formidable body, that they have defeated the Imperialists, destroyed their camp, and driven them within the city of Canton, which is now in a state of siege by them. It has been stated, that these men have been stirred

to rebellion by the insurgents at Nankin, but of this there does not appear sufficient evidence. Under any circumstances, they are fighting their battle, and when Canton falls, it will be difficult to see how the Imperialists can expect that the Europeans can recognize their authority, when they are excluded by the people of their own nation from the only ports open to European trade.

Its fall cannot but hasten that of the Tartar dynasty; as the income from its trade has materially assisted them to maintain the war they are now carrying on, and upon their success in which depends the continuance of Tartar rule; but as they are the great obstacle to progress, to civilization, to true enlightenment, the sooner they pass away, the better for the country— whoever may succeed them.

CHAPTER VIII.

PROGRESS OF THE INSURGENT ARMY TO THE WESTWARD—
CAPTURE OF VARIOUS CITIES—ANOTHER BRANCH TO THE
SOUTH—OFFICIALS DEGRADED—PRIZE MONEY—PAPER
MONEY—DISTRUST—MISERABLE STATE OF THE DEFENCES
AND INHABITANTS OF PEKIN—INFATUATION OF IMPE-
RIALISTS—INSURGENTS DIVIDED INTO THREE OR FOUR
BODIES—NO PEKIN GAZETTE—SIGN FAVOURABLE TO
INSURGENTS.

FROM the paucity of materials, it is impossible to give anything like a detailed account of the Insurgent forces; this however is evident, that they moved in separate divisions far apart, and apparently without any connexion; and that wherever they moved, they met with almost uniform, but always ultimate success.

Though the main body after its capture of Nankin, was concentrated there together, with the women and children, and though the Tae-ping appears to have established his court there, having changed its name

to Teen-king, "celestial city," the progress of victory does not seem to have been stayed.

The advanced guard kept steadily moving on through Keang-nan in a N.W. direction, being supported by continued reinforcements from Nankin as they were required, and as new levies were sworn in and prepared for their mission. When we were returning from Nankin in the *Hermes*, we passed through a flotilla of one hundred and fifty vessels carrying troops to Kwa-chow, which is situated at the mouth of the Grand Canal; these could not have contained less than from three to four thousand, and doubtless were on their way to the north, to reinforce the army gone towards Peking.

In July, Kao-yeou, Yung-hing, and Kou-te-po, had fallen into their hands, and the Imperial Gazette farther states, that Nan-chang, in Kiang-se, had been nearly taken.

In August, they had reached as far as Kai-fung-foo, the capital of the Honan, at which they were said to have met a reverse, but they seem to have retrieved it, for that place also fell into their hands.

Another division meanwhile had been making a series of desultory movements in Kuang-se, reducing places, and collecting large sums in tribute and indemnity.

The Governor of Yun-nan, also reports that the rebels that had been disturbing that province and Kwei-chow had not escaped; these, no doubt, were reinforcements that subsequently made their way up to Nankin, and as they were styled by the Governor, Mahommedans, they may have been some of the Miou-tze. In September, the northern division burst into the province of Shan-si, which they soon overran, taking H-wan-keuh, Keang-hieen, Keuh-yuh, Hung-tung, and the prefectural city of Ping-yang. The Governor of Kiang-si was deprived of his post, and ordered to Peking for trial; and the Imperial Commissioner Nah-urh-king-guih, was stripped of his yellow jacket for not destroying the rebels at Hwae-king-foo, which place they had invested, but raised the siege of, to pass on to Pin-yang-foo. On leaving Hung-tung, they fled (this is the language of the Peking Gazette) eastward, towards Peking. The Peking Gazette of the 6th of October, announces their arrival at Lung-ping, which they took on the 2nd, lat. $37^{\circ} 25'$ N. long. $114^{\circ} 54'$ E. and at Pih-heang, lat. $37^{\circ} 27'$ N. long. $114^{\circ} 54'$ E. in the province of Pih-chih-le, and that the Imperialists had retired to Kwang-ping, to the southward of these, leaving the Insurgents between them and the capital.

These losses are only admitted indirectly by Kwei-

leang, the Viceroy of Pih-chih-le, who recommends that an inquiry may be instituted into the conduct of those officers who died in defending their posts, in order to award them posthumous honours ; also of those officers who deserted the cities confided to their care, in order to inflict punishment upon them. Among the former he enumerates the Prefect who was in charge of the Lin-ming pass, the Prefect of Shin-chow, the Prefect of Tsing-chow, the Magistrate of Lwan-ching, the Chancellor of Jui-hëen, together with their families and attendants, who either lost their lives when the *above-named cities were captured*, or who conducted themselves with the utmost bravery even to death ; all these the Viceroy recommends to the consideration of the Emperor. But with respect to those fellows who opened the city gates and fled, and who are now nowhere to be found, a different treatment is reserved.

This quotation establishes which direction, and what was the character of the flight of the Insurgents. From the point they seem to have attained, they have a paved carriage-road reaching to the capital.

As a mean of meeting the expenses of the war, Ha-fun, who had been degraded from his rank of lieutenant-general, for allowing himself to be defeated by the Insurgents, proposed, that as in many of the pro-

vinces iron was as plentiful as stones, the authorities should give up coining brass cash, and coin iron—two thousand to the tael (7s. 6d.)—for the payment of official salaries and other expenses of the war: and the issue of paper money; but as might be expected, none of these things sufficed to meet the difficulties, but rather tended to increase them. As early as August, Foo-hing, an officer of the Imperial palace stated, “that within and without the city (Pekin) both officers and merchants have been tumultuously occupied in removing, which has given rise to many idle reports.” He further suggested, that it would be better to apply the “*metal* intended for the repairs of the water-works of Pekin for the supply of the army.”

To the southward the Insurgents continued their operations. They had captured Luy-chow-foo, Kaongnan, Fung-ching, and Keih-gnan; and Yaou-chow-foo in the borders of the Poyang lake, and Nan-chang, were besieged. In October they were reported to have arrived near Tien-tsin, and to have encamped at Tuh-lew and Tsing-hae, only a few miles distant from Tien-tsin, intending apparently to winter, and wait for reinforcements from Nankin. In the province of Gnan-hway, Shooking, Ying-san, and Luy-chow seem to have fallen; while disturbances were reported in several other provinces; but whether these have any

connection with the followers of Tae-ping, is not known.

On the occasion of the Cassini's visit to Nankin, she reported the leaving of forty thousand Insurgents for the north ; and the notices, in the Pekin Gazette, of the passage of large bodies of men in that direction, and through the cities that had been or were occupied by the other Insurgents, on their passage northward, seem to identify them. Since which, from time to time, there have been reports of captures and recaptures ; but how much of these are to be relied on, it is impossible to say.

The Pekin Gazette, of the 24th of November, 1853, mentions incidentally, that at the present the rebels have entered into Thiën-tsin, which is only sixty miles from Thung-chow, a city very near to the capital ; from which it may be naturally inferred that Thien-tsin has fallen, though no report of the date of its fall has been given. That of the 27th reports a victory over the rebels at Tuh-lew, after which they were said to have retired within their fortifications ; but it also reports that Nah-urh-king-a, the former viceroy of Pekin, is ordered to be beheaded, for allowing the rebels to get into Pih-chih-le. It was also reported from Nankin that Thiën-tsin had been taken.

From a translation of a memorial submitted to the

Emperor by Yung-paon, censor and imperial inspector of the central part of the city of Peking, and given in the Gazette for the 14th January of this year, we learn that the capture of that city, and the fall of the Tartar dynasty, is but a question of time. In this he states, that only ten thousand dollars could be collected in the whole city, in the month of December, 1853; that officers employed about the court, had been, from the spring of that year, inventing excuses to get away; that the rich inhabitants, with their households, to the number of three thousand, had removed; in every street, nine out of ten houses were empty. The soldiers of the capital, whether belonging to Chinese or Tartar regiments, exist very much in name only; and since the approach of the Insurgents, the best of these have been ordered off to the war, those which remain being only the unserviceable, together with those that have been temporarily engaged to fill vacancies. On his tour of inspection, he found that numbers were deficient at every guard-house, and those on guard he found starving with cold and hunger, exposed to the wind and snow, in a most distressed and miserable condition. On examining the weapons piled up there, he found that the greater part were useless—horsemen darted through the gates as they pleased, and these men were unable to arrest them.

When the roll is called, some run for their weapons, some for their jackets ; they stand up for a moment, answer their names, then saunter off into their tents, or creep under their bed-clothes. Generally speaking, of late the practice has been to be all in a flurry when arrangements are to be made for defence ; and to be very steady when ease or enjoyment are to be attended to. The rebels he states as being only seventy miles distant ; and Shing-paon and Tsang-kih-lin-sin are by no means agreed in their views. According to the confessions of the spies, it appears that very many of the rebels have come to the capital, where they hire houses, and secretly endeavour to enlist persons in their cause. Moreover, it appears that at the different guard-houses there are a few watchmen placed, who are just sufficient to guard against petty thieves. These may be seen at the head of every street, with badges round their necks, and with lanterns stuck at the end of long poles, beating gongs as they go, in companies of ten, or it may be a hundred, like a parcel of boys playing about. Recently he has seen poor old women almost naked, bringing, with tears in their eyes, the cotton-wadded garments which they received in charity, to offer as money, in payment of the demand for taxes.

The Gazette of the 17th of January, 1854, contains

a report from the members of the cabinet, complaining of the publication of the above document ; and that it was improperly printed, for which, and for some other alleged alterations from the original, the printer is called to account ; and the censor himself is ordered to send up a clear account of the matter, evidently shewing that the statement though unpalatable was too true.

This statement bears the impress of truth, and it has been well said, that the mind of the reader is partly amused, and partly disgusted, with those complicated details of cunning deception and palpable cowardice, which mark the official reports of the Insurgent army's progress, thus given from time to time in the Pekin Gazette, and stamp with the appearance of mad infatuation, the Imperial acts and edicts of the last of the Mantchoo dynasty.

Nothing could more truly shew the total want of enthusiasm which exists at Pekin, than does this document quoted above ; and if they are not popular there, where can they be supposed to be. It is quite clear that their fall would scarce be the subject of regret to a single *Chinese*.

The Insurgents seem to be divided now into three main divisions, that in the north now composed of those who started in the first instance, and the rein-

forcements who appear to have effected a junction in Shang-tung, to which place, and for which purpose, the original section retreated from Phi-chih-le.

A second body appear to be advancing from the original seat of the rebellion in the province of Kwang-si, and are conquering on every side. The capital cities of Ho-nan and Hoopih provinces are besieged by them. They again appear to have divided into two sections, and already the cities of Yoh-chow, Seang-yin, and Yang-keang in the former, and Han-yang, Yui-ching, Heran-kan, Awang-chow, and Hong-Ke-how in the latter province, are in their possession.

The third section would appear to have effected a movement from Nankin ; several important cities in Guan-hwai have been taken, and in one of them the Governor of the province was slain. The city of Luh-gnan in Guan-hwai is reported amongst the recent captures, and in Keang-se province, the cities of Keih-gnan, Yaou-chow, Nan-khang, and Kew-keang, are in the hands of the Insurgents, and the literary examinations throughout these prefectures have in consequence not been held : these Insurgents appear to be moving through the green-tea district towards the sea-coast, and the Triads in possession of Shanghai state, that it is from this section of Taeping's army that they are to receive succour.

The latest accounts leave us in doubt as to the exact state of matters. It is probable that the Insurgents have met with reverses, but that they have not been much more than retarded in their progress to final dominion. The stoppage of the Pekin Gazette now for some time rather intimates that they are in the ascendant, as the Imperialists would desire that it should be promulgated as long as possible to keep up the farce by their lying reports; had the Insurgents met with any serious reverses they would certainly have recalled their army from the Green-tea districts, in order to send it north.

It cannot be, the whole Tartar power is in a state near to paralysis, to bring it to which is a mere question of time; which may, and in all probability will not be long.

CHAPTER IX.

ESTIMATE OF THE INSURGENT PUBLICATIONS—DOCTRINES—
ERROR OF INDIVIDUALS—DIFFICULTIES OF LANGUAGE—
IMPERIAL PROOF OF THEIR SINCERITY—OPINIONS NOT
SO EXTRAVAGANT AS HAVE BEEN STATED—REASON WHY
THEIR LATER WORKS ARE MORE UNSOUND THAN THE
FORMER—DR. MEDHURST'S ESTIMATE OF THEIR PRAC-
TICAL TEACHING—ITS RESULTS—ESTIMATE OF THEIR
WORKS TAKEN FROM THE "QUARTERLY REVIEW"—THE
EFFECTS PRODUCED BY THEIR RELIGION—SUCH AS PROVE
THAT IT MUST BE CHRISTIANITY—THE HOPE OF PRO-
GRESS IS IN THE CIRCULATION OF THE SCRIPTURES.

THERE were those who, on learning that there was much that had been promulgated by the Insurgents that was truly admirable and scriptural, were carried away to believe that all was unexceptionable, and now on learning that much that they are circulating is very unsatisfactory, are prepared to run into the other extreme ;—the truth lies between these.

To suppose that there would not be error, much

error, amongst the members of a church composed of, and gathered out by half-instructed Chinese, would be more than unreasonable ; and to wish that all the formularies of such a church, circumstanced as that in China was, should have been found scriptural, would be almost idle.

The church established by the Apostles themselves was not without an admixture of error ; and had we found amongst this in China, formularies that were all scriptural, we might have been quite certain that they had been adopted from others, without any very intelligent idea having been formed either of their use or meaning ; that they were *but* formularies which had been adopted, and that the truths they contained had not been truly received.

In fact, the existence of error in some seems necessary to make manifest the belief of the truth in others. It seems necessary in order to shew that the minds of some had been exercised upon the subject-matter of these formularies, and that this had resulted in their rejection of error, and in their intelligent adoption and appropriation of the truth.

No candid mind examining the proclamations and publications of the Insurgents, but must come to the conclusion that there are stated in these, certain broad principles by which they should be judged

as a party, and which should guide us in dealing with them, and should insure for them not only candid treatment, but an acknowledgment that they are what they wish us to believe them ; and what they represent themselves to be,—brethren, as believing with us the great truths which have constituted the grounds upon which nations have been admitted into the great family of Christendom ; and which form the strong line of demarcation that separates them from all impostors, with whom, sometimes though not often, they are unfairly classed.

They adopt Christianity, and this not simply in name, but after shewing an intelligent appreciation of some of its most important doctrines, and having inculcated and yielded obedience to many of its precepts.

They believe in one God and Father of all, and have expressed, if they have not formed a somewhat high (relatively) estimate of his attributes. Thus : “ The great God is a spiritual Father, a ghostly Father, omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent ; all nations under heaven are acquainted with his great power.”

They believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, as the Saviour of the world. Thus :—“ Our heavenly Father, of His great mercy and unbounded goodness, spared not His first-born Son, but sent him down into the world, to give his life for the redemption of all our transgres-

sions ; the knowledge of which, coupled with repentance, saves the souls of men."

They invoke the influence of the Holy Spirit. " I also earnestly pray then the great God, our heavenly Father, constantly to bestow on me thy Holy Spirit, and change my wicked heart : never more allow me to be deceived by malignant demons, but perpetually regarding me with favour ; for ever deliver me from the Evil One."

They believe that the Scriptures are a revelation from God ;—they make them the test of truth, and rule of faith, and they do not put anything forward as of co-ordinate authority.

They do not set forth any traditions, like Israel of old, to make void the word of God.

They do not attempt to invent a bible, or add anything to, or take from, the word of God. We have thus a common standard of truth, though they, owing to education, and the difficulties of language, draw somewhat different conclusions, and unwittingly mix up much that is unsatisfactory and incongruous with their statements of truth ;—but they, not perceiving this incongruity, publish it, and still insist that our religion is one, and that we are brethren. But is not this the case with many who have had infinitely greater means of ascertaining what that standard is—

are there not many who are as wide or nearly so from the truth, far wider on some points, and yet we do not take that as a sufficient ground upon which to question their sincerity, or to refuse political intercourse ?

Their education has been such, so radically different from ours, that they cannot but reason and resolve upon any given statements somewhat differently from us, and yet may be equally sincere. These men must have made sacrifices, and run no ordinary risks, which is a proof of their sincerity, though it may not be necessarily of their possessing the truth ;—no man acts against his instinct without a reason. It is no answer to this, to say, that it is not against their true interests—for it was against their temporal interest, the only one they recognized for a time : at first they were subject to persecutions, and some even to death. For this reason it were unwise to wish that they had been better instructed ; it were also unwise, because, had they been better instructed in the principles and precepts of Christianity, in all probability they would not have been found raising the standard of revolt. They would have submitted, and their heads would have been taken, as thousands had been in China before. The country would thus have continued hermetically sealed against enlightenment and Christianity.

It has been wisely ordered otherwise, for though it

were admitted for argument's sake that they had not introduced a single Christian idea, yet in commencing a political change, they have placed their country on the high way to civilization and truth, with its attendant blessings.

No doubt owing to the cumbrousness of the Chinese language, and the errors that were current in it, they have imported grave errors ; these should be dealt with in charity and calmness—they are not fundamental : though they appear so grave, they do not directly contradict Scripture, and there is room for misconception, as to what they mean to express, and further, there is ground for supposing that misconception has arisen.

Thus, while they seem to speak of a distinct revelation being made to them, they also speak of not having a different revelation from ours ; they frequently stated that their Scriptures were the same as ours. They always spoke of us as brethren ; language so new and so contrary to Chinese ideas, that they never would have admitted us to such a dignity, unless they had appropriated a new idea, and thus believed with us in the same heavenly Father, and were actuated by the same Spirit. They are not exclusive ; they adopt the broadest basis of communion ; they nowhere inculcate belief (in the extravagant ideas which they are

said to hold) as necessary for communion, and much less do they insist upon it as necessary for salvation.

There can be no reasonable doubt of the sincerity of their professions, and that their movement was religious from the first; for the Imperialists would certainly know, and would not have any disposition to represent them favourably; and yet in no one of their publications do they represent them otherwise, than as "a sect," "a proselytizing sect"—"as Protestants," as a branch of Roman Catholic Christians.

They call them "robbers," it is true, which is merely used as a term of reproach, rather than as defining a special delinquency; and the language in the context shews what was their crime:—"The names of the robbers have all been sought out, and have been written down; the leaders are Hung-sew-tseuen, Fung-yun-san, Wei-chang-wei, Sian-chaw-kwei, Yang-seu-tsing, Shi-tah-kai, who all evidently joined the sect at Kin-tien. The Protestant sect (Shang-ti-hwin) is only another designation of the Roman Catholics, but originating with the barbarians, and flowing in poisonous streams through the middle kingdom, dyeing the customs of the country and deluding the people,—damaging the manners, and wounding the hearts of the age? Those who once enter the sect become so infatuated, as never to recant; regarding

death as merely going home. Their contempt of danger, and their readiness to die for their principles, still occasion the surprize of both officers and people. *They are not to be compared with the vagabonds of any other sect."*

"The chief of the brigands should be punished according to the laws enacted against rebels, and their followers according to the nature of their respective crimes ; while all who listen to their preaching, and who join the sect, should, unless they repent, be banished, as if they were Roman Catholics : thus the ignorant will be instructed, and the perverse intimidated as before, each prisoner shall be tried, the grade of his offence ascertained, and a report thereof shall be transmitted to the Emperor."

The above is taken from a memorial to the Tartar Emperor, on the occasion of the alleged capture of some of the insurgents ; the names of the Chiefs of the insurrection given in it, are the names of the leaders who reached Nankin ; those of the Celestial King, and the four kings of the quarters—though several of them were stated, in the Imperial Gazette, to have been killed before the insurgents captured that place.

Nor can the exceptional cases be taken fairly as impugning the truth of the foregoing statement.

There is a general disposition to forget the low starting-point of all heathen, but especially the Chinese, and to argue that because all is not attained, nothing has been. It looks as if men could be candid upon all subjects but upon that of religion. There are extravagancies in their writings when we attach our meaning to them, and when they are measured by the highest standard of excellence. But with what propriety can we attach our meaning to them ?

Take, for instance, their most extravagant writings, those by Yang-sew-tsing, who I believe to be a consummate hypocrite ;—and if so, it is unfair to judge his party by him, or by his writings. He has been charged with blasphemy, I think, recklessly. Dr. Bridgeman, an American Missionary, and a Chinese student of thirty years, hesitates to say blasphemous ; because he adds, “ I do not know what he (Yang-sew-tsing) means by the use of the title, ling, (that used by Morrisson to designate the Holy Spirit.)” Another American, whose letter I give, with “ the ode ” in which “ ling ” is used, attached, says, and I think, with justice, “ that they are mere high-sounding titles.”

Yang-sew-tsing's religious opinions are but little removed from Unitarianism ; consequently, when he assumes the title of the Holy Spirit, he does not profess to claim the attributes of God the Spirit ;—he

does not appear to know "if there be any Holy Ghost."

Had he meant to assume the title and dignity of the Holy Spirit, he would have assumed a superiority to Hung-sew-tseuen, but this evidently he does not, as he frequently states his inferiority to the Celestial King, and the Celestial King's Son also.*

Again, if this ode were meant to be a doxology, and the enjoining its use as such were considered as inculcating the worship of those included therein ; this were to prove too much, and too little—for it would teach that neither the Celestial King nor his Son were to be worshipped, but the four kings and the assistant king were, equally with Yang-sew-tsing ; he as the Holy Spirit, and they, as what ? this also proves that Yang does not claim to be the Holy Spirit or superiority, but only priority over the other kings.

Much of the revelation also by Yang, when seen from our point of view, and in the light of our knowledge, is excessively offensive ; still in these, (except in the fact of stating that he had revelations) he does not contravene any statement of Scripture—he inculcates Christian virtues, if he means to inculcate anything. But as I have before said, I believe him to be an impostor. The character of the Emperor in the eyes of

* See Revelations, a large portion of which I have given.

the Chinese, is something so sacred and heavenly, that the pretence of a revelation from heaven was necessary to obtain Yang the power and influence he exercised over his sovereign ; but for this assumption he dare not have ventured to award forty stripes of a bamboo, and this could only have been designed to humiliate and rob Hung of his dignity ; he shewed great cunning in not inflicting it. The whole scene is quite Chinese.

But is it fair to look at their writings from our point of view?—Are there not difficulties in their language, in respect of their conveyance of new and abstract ideas, that we have not respectively and sufficiently surmounted to be able to say ;—we, what they mean by the use of certain symbols ; or they, what we mean by the use of certain other symbols or words.

Owing to the symbolic character of their written language, every new idea must have a new symbol, or a part of the old idea will be imported into, and mixed up with any new idea that may be represented by an old symbol, and this will be true, in part where the new symbol is made up of old symbols ;—thus, where they wished to express *soul*, they combined two old symbols, as I understand ; that which stands for “man, and that which expressed “ sees : ”—implying, that the soul was the seeing principle of man ; yet this is only

an approximation to our idea of soul ; this expresses only what we understand of mind.

Christians are not yet agreed upon the correct word for rendering God. One class use "shin," others insist, that this means simply a spirit, and is applied often to false gods ; both these parties, however, are at one in saying that the term used by the Roman Catholics ;—" Tien-chu," is very defective.

Dr. Medhurst condemns in somewhat strong terms the edition of the Scriptures by Gutzlaff, and yet this is the edition they have adopted. I do not know whether he thinks it simply inelegant Chinese, or incorrect, but I do say the Chinese ought to have the benefit of these difficulties of language, in the construction we put upon their writings.

The idea of possession by the spirit of a God, is common in China, and there would be great difficulty in separating this idea from ideas suggested by many passages in Scripture, particularly if these were conveyed to them by any symbols that had hitherto their use only in reference to these cases of possession.

There has been no pretence of a personal manifestation of the Heavenly Father, but the person supposed to be temporarily inspired, has given forth utterances of the indwelling Deity ; and it is remarkable that the subject-matter of these has been kept within very

narrow limits, and allude to accusations of a mundane and temporary character.

There are not wanting passages of Scripture which, with their old ideas of possession, and the use of a wrong symbol, would give a warrant for the belief that revelations might be, provided they did not contravene Scripture.

Indeed, these cases seem very little different from those so commonly said to have taken place in the Roman Catholic Church ; the Romanists, it is true, are too well informed, shall I say, to pretend to speak for our Heavenly Father, but those amongst them who pretend to these revelations, do not hesitate to contravene His word.

It is evident from a consideration of their proclamations, and other publications, that throughout they have been drawing an analogy between their case and that of Israel of old ; and that they should, forgetting or not knowing the difference of dispensations, have drawn the analogy too far, is not to be wondered at.

Our fathers did the same ; though, being better instructed, they did not overstrain the analogy so far.

Is there not room for mis-apprehension as to what they wrote, or what they meant in those writings ?—They were dealing with realities, but not altogether earthly realities, and when these are couched in language too

earthly, would excite a laugh, and yet for want of other symbols in the language they are necessarily thus couched.

Some will laugh at their saying, "We wait for an intimation from our Heavenly Father, before we move upon Pekin;"—"we were delivered out of our difficulties by our Heavenly Father, or by Jesus." But has this laugh the character of wisdom?

The devout and spiritually discerning, see in these opening channels and providential leadings, real, practical, certain, though (to others) not so tangible, intimations of the Divine will as to which way they should go, or what course they should follow, as ever was the pillar of cloud, and pillar of fire to Israel of old.

It has been remarked, that their earlier works were more sound than the later; which seems to argue strongly against them; but if the circumstances be all considered, the case will become equally strong the other way.

At first they were all together, and because the majority were sound in their views of divine truth, the doctrines they promulgated were satisfactory; but of course they sent forward their best and most educated men, amongst whom was Fun-yun-san, their earliest after Hung-sew-tseuen; and most successful preachers,

Lae and Lo, who had both been under European instructors; is it then to be wondered at, that the documents published after they had left should be unsatisfactory; the probability is, that in consequence of the large reinforcements that had been sent forward to Peking, there were very few, if any, beyond Hung-sew-tseuen, Yang-sew-tsing, and the northern Prince, except indeed females, who came up from Kwang-si, or who had received any instruction, except what they had obtained in the camp, and that those seen by the Susquahanna were little more than neophytes.

The absence of Hung-sew-tseuen's name, and that of the Hur from the ode, is very remarkable, and is explicable only upon two grounds; either that Yang-sew-tsing is an impostor, or that Hung does not approve of the ode, and has prohibited his name appearing; the erasure of Yang's title in the first publication of it, as stated by the American letter, indicated that it had been the subject of discussion.

Whatever may be their speculative opinions, the really important point is, What is the practical result of their teaching? An illustration of this I give from Dr. Medhurst, a Chinese missionary of twenty years experience:—

“DEAR SIR,

“As every thing regarding the Insurgents possesses

a degree of interest at the present moment, I beg leave to send you the following account :

“ Having obtained admission into the city of the Shanghae this afternoon, I proceeded to one of the chapels belonging to the London Missionary Society, where I commenced preaching to a large congregation, which had almost immediately gathered within the walls. I was descanting on the folly of idolatry, and urging the necessity of worshipping the one true God, on the ground that he alone could protect his servants, while idols were things of nought, destined soon to perish out of the land ; when, suddenly a man stood up in the midst of the congregation, and exclaimed— ‘ That is true, that is true ! the idols must perish, and shall perish. I am a Kwang-se man, a follower of Thae-ping-wang ; we all of us worship one God, (Shang-te) and believe in Jesus, while we do our utmost to put down idolatry ; everywhere demolishing the temples, and destroying the idols, and exhorting the people to forsake their superstitions. When we commenced two years ago, we were only 3,000 in number, and we have marched from one end of the empire to the other, putting to flight whole armies of the Mandarin’s troops that were sent against us. If it had not been that God was on our side, we could not have thus prevailed against such overwhelming

numbers ; but now our troops have arrived at Teentsin, and we expect soon to be victorious over the whole empire.' He then proceeded to exhort the people in a most lively and earnest strain, to abandon idolatry, which was only the worship of devils, and the perseverance in which would involve them in the misery of hell : while by giving it up, and believing in Jesus, they would obtain the salvation of their souls. ' As for us,' he said, ' we feel quite happy in the possession of our religion, and look on the day of our death as the happiest period of our existence ; when any of our number die, we never weep, but congratulate each other on the joyful occasion, because a brother is gone to glory, to enjoy all the magnificence and splendour of the heavenly world. While continuing here, we make it our business to keep the commandments, to worship God, and to exhort each other to do good, for which end we have frequent meetings for preaching and prayer. What is the use, then,' he asked, ' of you Chinese going on to burn incense, and candles, and gilt paper ; which, if your idols really required it, would only show their covetous dispositions, just like the Mandarins, who seize men by the throat, and if they will not give money, squeeze them severely ; but if they will, they only squeeze them gently.' He went on to inveigh against the pre-

vailing vices of his countrymen, particularly opium-smoking; 'that filthy drug,' he exclaimed, 'which only defiles those who use it, making their houses stink, and their clothes stink, and their bodies stink, and their souls stink, and will make them stink for ever in hell, unless they abandon it.'

" 'But you must be quick,' he adds, 'for Thae-ping-wang is coming, and he will not allow the least infringement of his rules, no opium, no tobacco, no snuff, no wine, no vicious indulgences of any kind; all offences against the commandments of God are punished by him with the severest rigour, while the incorrigible are beheaded—therefore, repent in time.'

" I could perceive, from the style of his expressions, and from his frequently quoting the books of the Thae-ping dynasty, that he was familiar with those records, and had been thoroughly trained in that school. No Chinaman who had not been following the camp of the Insurgents for a considerable time could have spoken as he did.

" He touched also on the expense of opium-smoking, 'which drained their pockets, and kept them poor in the midst of wealth, whilst we who never touch the drug, are not put to such expense. Our master provides us with food and clothing, which is all we want; so that we are rich without money.'

"I could not help being struck also with the appearance of the man, as he went on in his earnest strain. Bold and fearless as he stood, openly denouncing the vices of the people, his countenance beaming with intelligence, his upright and manly form the very picture of health, while his voice thrilled through the crowd, they seemed petrified with amazement : their natural conscience assured them that his testimony was true ; while the conviction seemed to be strong amongst them, that the two great objects of his denunciation—opium and idolatry, were both bad things, and must be given up.

"He spoke an intelligible Mandarin, with an occasional touch of the Canton or Kwang-si brogue. His modes of illustration were peculiar, and some of the things which he advanced were not such as Christian missionaries were accustomed to bring forward. The impression left on my mind however, was that a considerable amount of useful instruction was delivered, and such as would serve to promote the objects we had in view, in putting down idolatry, and furthering the worship of the true God.

"Another thought also struck my mind ; viz. this is a class of men that can with difficulty be controlled. They must, for a time, be allowed to go their own way. It may not be in every respect the way which

we could approve, but it does not appear to run directly counter to our objects. In the mean time we can go on in ours, and inculcate such truths as they may forget, or state correctly what they fail to represent aright. Thae-ping-wang may thus prove a breaker-up of our way, and prepare the people for a more just appreciation of Divine truth, as soon as we can get the Sacred Scriptures freely circulated among them.

“ Ever yours truly,

“ W. H. MEDHURST.

“ *Shanghae, December 14, 1853.*”

The following remarks, extracted from the *Quarterly Review*, on some of the religious books of the Insurgents, are so very good, and so much to the purpose, that I cannot offer any apology for introducing them.

“ A still more important inquiry is, *what kind* of Christianity this is which has been proclaimed by the leading rebels, and is at least passively accepted by the masses that crowd round their successful standards. On this point, as on others, many are perplexed at what they read in the religious books that have been published by the revolutionists. For ourselves we have no hesitation in saying that the Christian tenets therein set forth, taken with all the drawbacks already mentioned, of delusion, lingering superstition,

and possibly of partial deception, yet seem so natural in their mode of enunciation, and in the very imperfection with which they are blended, that there is reason for auguring well for the future, if only the proper means be adopted for advancing and perpetuating the work. An examination of the '*Trimetrical Classic*' and the '*Book of Religious Precepts*,' two of the principal publications, suggest some conclusions which appear to us irresistible.

" 1. It must be obvious to the most cursory reader that the language of the Bible pervades these compositions, especially the '*Classic*.' Some doubt has existed as to whether the whole of the Old and New Testament is possessed by these inquirers, chiefly from the fact of a portion only of Dr. Gutzlaff's translation being found in their hands at Nankin. Captain Fishbourne, however, states that they have the entire Scriptures. The insurgents themselves said, in their interview on board the *Hermes*, that the Sacred Volume 'had been taken to Peking about a thousand years ago, and that it was thence the people got a copy, which they had multiplied.' In the inscription on the monument at Siganfu, erected by the Nestorians, reference is distinctly made to the Holy Scriptures, as consisting of twenty-four books of the law and the prophets, and seventeen of the New Testa-

ment;* and we are led from the existence of the above-mentioned tradition, to infer that they were translated and circulated by those early missionaries. From the closeness with which the Scripture phraseology is copied throughout the 'Classic,' particularly in the account of Israel's deliverance from Egypt, we must suppose that the composition, undoubtedly the production of the Chinese themselves, is drawn directly from the word of God.

"2. Again, this notion is confirmed by the absolute freedom from all party symbolism and conventional language, which so disfigure the profession, and religious phraseology of disunited Christendom.

"3. It is observable, too, that in these expositions of belief there is a marked absence of the *doctrines* as distinguished from the *facts* of Divine revelation. There is a simple announcement of the chief Scriptural events, without comment or inference; and they thus exhibit what we should expect to be the process of a mind newly aroused to the consciousness of the great acts of the Divine dispensations towards man. The following passage in the '*Trimetrical Classic*' will exemplify what we mean:—

* See the translation of this inscription in the Appendix to Mosheim's *Hist. Tartarorum*, pp. 7. 8.

' But the great God,
 Out of pity to mankind,
 Sent his first-born Son
 To come down into the world.
 His name is Jesus,
 The Lord and Saviour of men,
 Who redeems them from sin
 By the endurance of extreme misery.
 Upon the cross
 They nailed his body :
 Where He shed his precious blood,
 To save all mankind.
 Three days after his death
 He rose from the dead,
 And during forty days
 He discoursed on heavenly things.

" We cannot but be struck with the resemblance which this recital of the primary principles of the Christian faith bears to the Apostles' Creed, and with the air of genuineness and reality with which it is impressed. So true is it to nature, that we can hardly refrain from setting down some of the earliest forms which we possess of such confessions, in order to show how, both in the *order* and *character* of the facts selected, they all tally with the profession which has been drawn up by the Chinese. It will be enough to observe that, in the summary of Christian truths sent by Pope Boniface to Edwin King of England in the year 625, and again in a similar précis prepared by

the Greek missionaries for the conversion of Wladimar King of Prussia in 987, the same salient facts of Scripture are selected, in order to awaken the heathen mind. Just so in the famous treatise of St. Augustine, '*De Catechizandis rudibus*,' the main facts of the Old Testament preparatory to the New, and the solemn events of our Lord's history—such as His incarnation, life, death, and resurrection—are dwelt on, as the prominent verities to which the mind of man, awakened and seeking truth, would naturally be drawn.

"It requires only the slightest acquaintance with the character of the Chinese writings, such, for instance, as those translated by Milne and Marshman, to recognize the native turn of thought in these religious productions. In their reference to the national history, in their appeal to antiquity, in the almost unconscious prominence given to parental authority and family relationship (even to the corruption of the Christian faith), and in the peculiar and specific exhortations to virtue,—in all these points they are thoroughly Chinese. Some writers have condemned the admixture of the Confucian element, and special instances of it are even spoken of as '*additions* to the Christian faith.' Strangely enough; as if the phenomenon before us was that of Christi-

anity being overlaid by error, instead of Christianity forcing its way through a mass of ancient superstition ; as if truth was to spring forth complete and unencumbered from the indurated corruptions of two thousand years ; or as if, after all, the Gospel could only then be welcomed when all the sublime morality of the wisest sages of antiquity had been utterly discarded. So far from thus thinking, we deem it an auspicious circumstance that these people, even in the shipwreck of its worn-out ideas, should cling fast to the immutable maxims of their great Teacher, and find in Christianity the supplement, the necessary completion, and crown of the imperfect truth taught by that old philosopher. We should be sorry to see the nation so revolutionized as to be drifted away from its ancient moorings. Moreover, we will add our conviction, that whenever a Church is formed in that country, it will exhibit a nationality that will distinguish it from all other Churches of the East or West, in consequence of the Confucian modes of thought which for so many years have formed the best minds in the nation, and contributed largely to all that is best in the Chinese character. The expansive and plastic spirit of Christianity is calculated to mould itself upon the peculiarities of the various sections of mankind. When, unfettered by a narrow dogmatism,

it gives free play to national genius, it develops itself in the same direction, and gathers each phase of human life within its sanctifying influence. Just as the tendency of Eastern Christianity was speculative ; of Western, ceremonial ; of Northern, practical ;—just as one Church has developed more prominently than another some particular feature in its polity,—the Eastern, in being peculiarly patriarchal ; the Western, papal ; the Northern, episcopal :—just so the Christianity and Church of China may assume a domestic or paternal characteristic not inconsistent with the primary laws of the Gospel kingdom.

“ 5. A further point that occurs in the ‘ Book of Religious Precepts ’ is very observable, because it indicates the tendency in the minds of its promulgators to break down some of those barriers of prejudice which have hitherto obstructed the entrance of the Gospel ; and because it shows that the banner that is ‘ lifted up,’ if we may so speak, ‘ as a token,’—

“ ‘ Streams, like a thunder cloud, *against* the wind.’

“ Two strong feelings possess the Chinese in regard to religion. The first is, that the Emperor, as the father of the nation, is likewise its high priest.* He offers sacrifice on behalf of the people, and worships

* “ The Chinese,” Sir J. F. Davis, vol. ii. 149.

in their name ; and the indolence of the natives readily accepts an official and vicarious devotion, which exempts themselves from trouble in the matter. The second is, jealousy and contempt of foreigners. We may understand how these two potent prejudices would operate against the introduction of any foreign faith, and much more of the Christian. Yet the ' Book of Precepts ' seems courageously composed to controvert these very objections, and so remarkable are the dexterity and the soundness of argument with which they are answered, that some passages deserve to be extracted :—

“ ‘ Those whose minds,’ says this state manifesto, ‘ have been deluded by the devil, object and say that the great God is only to be worshipped by *sovereign princes*. But we wish you to know that the great God is the universal Father of all men throughout the world. Sovereigns are those of his children who most resemble him ; while the common mass are still his children, though steeped in ignorance ; and the violent and oppressive are his disobedient children. If you still think that sovereigns alone are allowed to worship God, we beg to ask you, whether the parents of one family regard only their eldest son, and whether they require filial respect and obedience from him alone ? ’

“ This position is then supported by instances from

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Chinese history of subordinate princes having worshipped God, and having received signal marks of his favour, which is taken as a conclusive proof that such worship could not be unacceptable.

“The objection against a foreign religion is thus dealt with :—

“‘Some also say erroneously that to worship the great God is to imitate foreigners ; not remembering that China has its histories which are open to investigation. . . . The fact is, that according to the histories, both of the Chinese and foreign nations, the important duty of worshipping the great God, in the early ages of the world, several thousand years ago, was alike practised both by Chinese and foreigners. But the various foreign nations in the west have practised this duty up to the present time, while the Chinese practised it only up to the Tsin and Han dynasties ;* since which time they have erroneously followed the devil’s ways, and allowed themselves to be deceived by the king of Hades. Now, however, the great God, out of compassion to the children of men, has displayed his

* During the Tsin dynasty, the great sacrilege of burning the ancient books of the empire was committed ; and M. Remusat in his *Voyages Bouddhiques*, mentions that Buddhism was first preached in China at the same period. viz. B. C. 217. It was *fully* established in China about 300 years later, during the Han dynasty.

great power, and delivered men from the machinations of the Evil One ; causing them to retrace their steps, and again to practise the great duty which was performed of old. Thus while alive they are no longer subject to the devil's influences, and after death they are not taken away by him, but ascending to heaven they enjoy endless bliss. This is all owing to the immeasurable grace and infinite compassion of the great God. Those who are still unawakened say, on the contrary, that we are following foreigners, thus showing to what an intense degree they are deluded by their great adversary. Mang-tsze says that "Truth is one." If men did but understand this they would acknowledge that both Chinese and foreigners ought together to practise the great duty of worshipping God.'

" Upon this follows a prayer 'for a penitent sinner,' of remarkable excellence, and full of Christian sentiment.

" 6. We cannot dismiss these publications without noticing the institution of the Sabbath, which is prominently set forward and enjoined as a part of the new religious code. It is the only *institution* directly recognised in it, and would be noticeable on this account, even if it were not an ordinance of such great practical import in itself. It is, in fact, wherever observed, a national recognition of the divine law, and secures,

more than any other appointment, the permanence of religious service. In this instance it has displaced a whole host of superstitious prognostications, sorceries, and days lucky and unlucky, which filled the old calendar; and, as the preface to the new Almanac states, honours the true God, as ruling over all times and seasons, and as blessing all equally with His providence. The adoption of the Sabbath is the more remarkable among the Chinese, because, unlike other Eastern nations, they have preserved no trace in their mythological or astrological systems of the primæval division of time into seven days. The observance, therefore, of this divine ordinance is an act of simple obedience to the Word of God, evidencing the boldness and sincerity of its promulgators; and if permanently established will mark an era in the social as well as the religious history of the nation.

“Such are the prominent features that characterize these Chinese compositions. They are, we believe, quite unparalleled as emanating from men in the process of struggling out of heathenism. The prominent features of Christianity stand out in them unmistakably; there is something simple and massive in the enunciation of them, with no admixture of sectarian littleness. Lingering errors cling to them as portions of native earth hang to masses of stone newly hewn

from the ground ; and were it not so, they would be artificial and probably untrue.

“ Similar imperfections adhere to the *practice* also of these converts. Much, for instance, has been said of the so-called sacrifices which form a part of their devotions. They are, in reality, improperly called *sacrifices*, and the ceremony consists only of *offerings* of animals, flowers, food, and the like. Dr. Taylor, on his visit to the insurgents, found, at their religious services, that tables were placed, with bowls of various kinds of food, as *offerings* to the Supreme Being ; among which were three bowls of tea, one for each Person of the Trinity. This is an old Confucian form of worship, and Dr. Gutzlaff mentions that it was a part of the Emperor's office to present such offerings to the *Shang-ti* for the people. Even though these rites consisted of actual sacrifices, such as heathens offer in the way of expiation, we need not be staggered by the circumstance at the present stage. It is curious how, in the records of ancient missions, the heathen, on their first reception of Christianity, are mentioned as superstitiously clinging to the practice for a time. Boniface, in the eighth century, on visiting his recent converts in Hesse, found many among them who sacrificed secretly, and even publicly, to their gods, and mixed several pagan rites with their

Christian profession. So, at an earlier period, St. Augustine complained to Pope Gregory of the tenacity with which the Anglo-Saxons adhered to the usage. The semi-converts of China are only in the same position, in this respect, as their brethren of Germany and England were twelve or thirteen centuries back.

“ Still it must be acknowledged that very serious defects do disfigure both the faith and practice of the Chinese insurgents, even though we do not admit that they throw a doubt on the genuineness of their profession. The cruelty they have exhibited in war, though less than what has often been witnessed in the religious conflicts of European Christians, shows at least that the precepts of the Gospel have not practically pervaded the ranks of the adherents. The polygamy of the leaders, if true, for it is doubted, is strangely at variance both with the purity of the law they profess to follow, and with the injunctions enforced upon the multitude. Fanaticism, also, is clearly mixed up with the pretensions of their spiritual and political leader—in whom, according to the Chinese constitution, the two offices are united.* The language which repre-

* M. Remusat remarks, ‘ L’Empereur de la Chine n’est pas seulement le chef suprême de l’état, le grand sacrificateur et le principal législateur de la nation ; il est encore le prince des lettres ; et le premier des docteurs de l’empire : il n’est pas moins

sents the aspirant to the throne as the 'younger brother' of our Lord, who is the 'elder brother,' although not without a tinge of Scriptural truth, and although merely the natural expression of the national idea which represents the Celestial Emperor as the 'son of heaven,' yet is full of profane and depraving ideas. Some great truths are obscured, others unrecognised. The Emperor, at present, seems to take on himself the sole office of the ministry; the people baptize one another, and the instruction of the people appears limited to the issue of such imperial proclamations as have been referred to and quoted. All this is calculated to excite misgiving; but if we consider the manner in which the knowledge has been probably gained, it will go very far, we apprehend, to explain this anomalous alliance of truth with error, and supply us with some clue to unravel the future."

In anything that I have written, I must beg my reader not to suppose that I wish to defend any error of the Insurgents, or make them appear to be better or more Christian than they are: my object is to pre-

chargé d'instruire que de gouverner ses peuples, ou, pour mieux dire, instruire et gouverner n'est, à la Chine, qu'une même chose.' *Mélanges Asiatiques*, vol. ii. p. 311. It is in accordance with this Confucian idea of his office, that the pretender to the throne now issues his codes of religious instructions to his followers. The prophetic office is lodged in him.

vent the growth of hostile feelings that are being raised by careless and ignorant assertions—feelings that would be most injurious to the interests of both nations.

That whatever their religion is, it is not of that repulsive, impractical kind, that like Mormonism, draws a cordon round it which it is hopeless to expect to pass.

This religion found the Chinese surrounded with a cordon, political, social, and semi-religious, which shut out all the world as barbarians, and it has swept that all away; it has taught them that "God hath of one blood, made all the nations of the earth." "Truth is one." "If men did but understand this, they would acknowledge that both Chinese and foreigners ought together to promote the great duty of worshipping God." It has taught them, professing Christianity, to call the men of Christendom, brethren. It has greatly advanced their moral condition, and having done this, I ask, What religion can that be which has had such expansive energy, such moral suasion, but Christianity?

Without detailing more recondite reasons why so little (comparatively) has been done, and why no more could have been expected, I may mention that the time was too short, the multitude too great for instruction, and their moral degradation far too deep.

Whatever may be their opinions now, our hope in reference to the progress of the nation towards truth is not in these, nor in man, nor any set of men ; but in the fact, without caring to enquire what are the motives that dictate it,—that they are circulating the word of God, without note or comment, in the language of the country ; and in the other recorded fact, that “ *Wherever the Bible has been translated into the language of the people, reformation has ensued, and churches have been founded, the greater number of which remain to this day, and are now experiencing revival from the free circulation of the Divine word, which at first gave them birth :* ” in fulfilment of the promise “ My word shall not return unto me void ; but it shall accomplish that which I please, and prosper in the thing whereunto I sent it.” (Isa. lv. 11.)

CHAPTER X.

FUTURE OF CHINA—IMPORTANCE TO ENGLAND—ITS LOCAL GOVERNMENT—EFFECT OF IT—WEAKNESS OF THE TARTAR GOVERNMENT—MODERATION OF TRIADS AT AMOY—CRUELITIES OF TARTARS—EMIGRATION OF THE CHINESE—CONSEQUENT CHANGES—EMIGRATION OF FEMALES NOT PERMITTED—TARTARS CANNOT RECOVER POWER—INSURGENTS WILL SUCCEED—CHINESE CHRISTIANS IN CALIFORNIA—MODERATION OF THE NANKIN INSURGENTS—ANCIENT CUSTOMS WILL BE CONTINUED—PUBLIC EXAMINATIONS—SCRIPTURES USED—EFFECTS OF THE OLD SYSTEM WITH A NEW POWER.

THE future of China is one of the most interesting and important questions that can be discussed at the present moment ; and still more important is it that a right judgment should be formed with respect to the policy that should be pursued by our Government towards the Tartar authorities and the Insurgents.

There can be no reasonable doubt but that the issue of the present contest will prove eminently favourable to the Chinese, and be very important to the rest of

the world ; more especially to those nations that are already trading with them—perhaps in proportion to the amount of that trade.

If this be so, England and America have a very large stake in the game, which should not be lightly perilled.

Much error in respect to the opinions formed as to the prospects of the Insurgents, and regarding the line of policy proper to be pursued towards them, appears to me to have arisen from not drawing a distinction between the state of things which resulted from the laws which existed in China long anterior to the commencement of Mantchoo rule, and which having continued under them, would continue though they might have passed away ;—and the state of things which were originated under, or by their rule.

Thus there is a local organization, much of which is on a representative principle, and much in its practical results, quite as good and more influential, which has existed amongst them for a hundred generations : in their numerous guilds, clubs, mutual benefit societies, militia, and in their excessive veneration for old age, and obedience to ancestors—three, four, and even five generations sometimes living together, and yielding implicit obedience to their great-grandfather,*—

* In reference to the obedience yielded to parents, the Bishop

together with the headship over villages, sometimes hereditary, sometimes elective, which constitute a very effective local government, which is apart from, and not always, and only within certain limits, controllable by the Tartar Imperial authorities.

The existence of the militia, and the fact of its being under local authorities is recognized in the following extract from an Imperial proclamation :—

“ In respect to the organization of the militia, this is a measure of the people for their own defence, and the preservation of their families. Each village may form its own band, or several villages may unite to form one band. The expense may be defrayed by the gentry, and head-men, taking it into their *own management*.” But, as is evident, the Imperial authorities had no very great confidence in their loyalty to the Tartar cause, it proceeds :—“ As to those thus engaged in self-defence rendering mutual aid, the moving about from place to place which this would involve, would deteriorate the character of the men, and so promote a *fresh disorder*.”

Such is the power and completeness of some of these of Victoria says, “ Filial piety is the canonized virtue of China, and is the principle on which the Government ground its claims to the obedience of the people. This principle is the great source of slavery, and furnishes a plea for the grossest tyranny on the part of the self-styled paternal and patriarchal rulers.”

organizations, that one or another has succeeded in resisting what they conceived to be unjust imposts of Imperial officers, and such is their moral power, that they have overawed the executive authorities of the empire, and compelled them to yield to their terms.

They have, through the instrumentality of this machinery, levied rates, and organized forces for mutual protection, and even for the expulsion of the recognized local authorities.

At Chang-chow, dissatisfied with the Imperialists, they permitted a party of the "Triads," inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, to take possession of the city; but finding that these were inclined to levy taxes to an extent they did not approve, they determined upon being independent, and turned out the insurgents, after, it is said, destroying one thousand of them.* They afterwards recalled the Imperialists.

* It was from this city that a request was made to send teachers to preach to them that word under which the insurgents in Quan-se were conquering.

The Rev. Mr. Burns, a Scottish missionary, went with one or two Chinese converts, and was—very strange to say—received into the house of a Chinese attorney; if I may so designate him. He preached frequently to attentive audiences, and this man would occasionally draw off a number and reiterate some of Mr. Burn's arguments against idolatry; but, as might be expected, he did not reach the length of inculcating the truths of Christi-

These usages all received force and permanence, from the very ancient practice of selecting the superior civil authorities from amongst those who distinguished themselves at the literary examinations. These literati were thoroughly indoctrinated in one set of ideas, drawn from one set of very ancient authors, comprised in sixty-four volumes, called San-tsae-hoo, from which these laws and customs were taken for the government of the Empire.

The Tartar, or Federal Government—for it was little more—had very little power, except within narrow limits, as they were generally obliged to govern in accordance with these documents. That they had to do so was often a cause of great weakness, and always served to make their weakness manifest; for they seldom could originate or carry out anything that was

anity. The character of this man amongst the townsmen is said to have been a bad one, perhaps only infidel, or mostly that, in respect to the national religion: and the people rather objected to the missionaries that they should have consorted with him. On this remark being made, the Chinese servant said to his master—"This man is like Zaccheus."

He was an intelligent man—was consulted by the insurgents on their taking possession of the town, and on the return of the Imperialists, his head was taken off. The missionary had returned to Amoy before the change of masters in the town had taken place.

really for the benefit of the people ; there being always censors jealous of change to resist innovation.

Never was a greater mistake than to suppose that the Tartar Government was strong. Absolute in its professed principles, and in some cases really so—placed over a country of enormous resources, its own proper resources were exceedingly limited, and its power for good and its independent influences so small, that it scarcely deserved the title of a government.

The effect of this state of things has been fatal to the welfare of the people, and the remnant of power of the government—which, seeking to relieve itself from its difficulties and to increase its power, by corruption, or by conniving at unjust exactions, so completely demoralized its employés, that all are corrupt together ; the little power they had is lessened, all its servants are mercenaries, and their term of office will terminate with their means of corruption, which cannot be long, as the people are everywhere refusing payment of taxes.

The people are indifferent, to a great extent, as to who are their nominal rulers ; but this is because of their having these local governments, that affect them much more than their federal rulers possibly can ; and they being indifferent, it seems quite impossible that

the Tartars can again re-establish themselves in power.

What probability is there that a government that was thrown into such pecuniary difficulties by the war with England, that it sold places and honours, well knowing, from the many remonstrances, that this was suicidal ; as it would alienate the influential people, and create disturbances,—now that these have been originated, and now that their resources have been thoroughly exhausted in the vain attempt to put them down,—could establish any government—still less a strong one, such an one as would give a promise of a useful and permanent peace. None! it is impossible that they can, and the sooner this is realized by all parties, the better.

True, it is said the literati, who are the most influential people, do not join the insurgents ; this is not to be expected—they will be the last as a body to join ; but do they or the people evince any loyalty to the Tartars, and hostility to the insurgents ? Certainly not ;—and though it is true that the Imperialists have exercised a degree of severity of punishment that looks like vigour, yet this proceeds from fear ; it is an evidence of their weakness, and shews that they are sensible that it is a question in which their very existence is involved ; and these fears have betrayed

them into not simply severities, but into the grossest injustice, and the most immoral disregard of human life, such that revolts every one, and alienates even their friends.

Can any one read the account of what took place at Amoy, on the occasion of its re-capture, and not say their doom is sealed.

The city of Amoy was taken possession of by a party of the 'Triads,'—no way connected with those who had taken Nankin,—and without much opposition on the part of the Imperialists, none on the part of the natives, arguing that they were privy to the attack and occupation ; there were only ten or twelve casualties during the whole affair.

These men, though poor and low, ruled with singular moderation, and robberies were said to have been considerably fewer under their administration. But when the city was re-captured by the Imperialists, thousands had their lives taken in a most brutal and cold-blooded manner, and persons evidently no way connected with the rebellion ; nothing but fear of consequences deterring them from carrying their atrocities to greater lengths.

At Shanghai, soon after its capture by a party of the Triads, the Imperialists investing it seized a party of three hundred men coming from Ningpo, and be-

cause they could not give, what they termed, a satisfactory account of themselves, took all their heads off—as they termed it—“for a warning to all.”

On the occasion of capturing some of the Nankin insurgents, the Imperial proclamation is couched in language that fully shews what thorough savages they are. It runs—“Lo-woo, and his fellows, six in number, have had their hearts torn out, which have been offered in sacrifice to the officers and men killed in battle; in order to gratify the indignant feelings of the living, and to comfort the spirits of departed worthies.”

Such is the feeling that they have created against themselves by their more recent measures, that, even though they should by disunion amongst the insurgents obtain the mastery over them, the country would fall a prey to some others, and this for the following reasons :

Because the Tartars have shut themselves out from all sympathy and intercourse with the world: they have not, nor can conceive of other ideas than their own, drawn from the ancient authors which have been made their text-books on all subjects: they are now left without the sympathy of large and influential classes of the people—of those on whom the stability of the country and state of things depends—the

southern districts; because they have, and do increasingly think differently; because they find daily more and more that the court-restrictions are not for their welfare; their interests have been too long sacrificed, and they are determined upon change, come whence it may.

The motto of the court is 'Semper Eadem'; but the people will not have it so; the minds of thousands and hundreds of thousands are becoming daily more assimilated to us in their habits of thought, and having their minds more opened to the fact, that progress and the Tartars are incompatible, and that they can be dispensed with.

They go out by hundreds of thousands to America, California, Australia, Batavia, Singapore, and India, and in these places daily meet with practical evidences that all their learning has been a lie:—all their life they have been under the impression that China was the world, and all else but an insignificant island or peninsula in a corner; but their passage, the distance they sail, the lands they see, convince them that China is, if not insignificant in its size or numbers, quite so in its influence. Their chronology, their history, their religion, their morality, share a like fate, and they come back to circulate their doubts. Their temples are deserted, and their priests are despised, and

the court mandates cannot redeem them from the neglect they merit.

Though for a long time the reports of the profligacy of the court was common, the people did not give much heed to it, as morality amongst themselves was very, very low, and they did not perceive any great evil in it. But now that their pockets are touched, that war-taxes and exactions of corrupt officials increase upon them, they cry out : and when the public censors are emboldened to charge the Emperor with the full measure, we may hope, of his delinquencies, (for more horrible profligacy could not well be practised than he is charged with) ; they are willing to believe all, and more—they are inclined to believe that their miseries are a just judgment of heaven for these profligacies. Such is their distrust of the Tartars that it is quite impossible for them to raise funds to keep up the struggle much longer.

Strange to say, one of the restrictions intended to keep up their system of exclusiveness, is one that is working them almost the greatest amount of harm, and helping effectually to break down the barrier of separation—it is that of their preventing all females from emigrating ; till within the last year no respectable females left China ; even men who had settled at Batavia or Singapore, and had become Dutch or Eng-

lish subjects, could not induce their wives to join them ; for though they might have succeeded in smuggling them out of China, their relations that remained would be held responsible for their absence, and be punished with severity ; the consequence of which is, that thousands who go away for a time, return to their country, bringing with them new tastes, new habits, new thoughts, and in fact all the elements of change so dreaded by the court and the Chinese bigots.

“ To state the case shortly, the Mantchoos cannot succeed in re-establishing this power, because

“ 1. Their resources are nearly exhausted, and they have no means of replenishing them.

“ 2. The masses are indifferent to their fate, and the majority of the thinking active minds are against them—and though the literati may be adverse to, or do not see the importance of progress, they are alienated from the Tartars, because of their selling places and honors.

“ 3. Their employés are all corrupt, and the impression is general, that there is no justice—judgment is swayed by bribery.

“ 4. Their cruelty and extortion have alienated many of those who were their friends.

“ 5. The Chinese are fatalists, and the desponding

tone of many of the Imperial proclamations shew that even they are impressed with the belief that Heaven is angry with them, and it is a growing impression amongst the people, that not only is Heaven against the Imperialist Tartars, but that it is equally favourable to the Insurgents—which view is every day receiving confirmation by increasing weakness of the Tartars, and their numerous failures. An instance of their weakness has just appeared in the *Times* of Nov. 8, under the head of ‘Pirates in the Chinese Seas.’—It appears that they had captured an English vessel, and having robbed her of every thing they valued, they set fire to her; however the Englishmen succeeded in putting the fire out, and escaped to the main land near Foo-chow-foo, a viceregal city, over which the Tartar Emperor’s uncle presides; and yet when they requested the Mandarin to convey them to Foo-chow-foo in a boat, he, alarmed, said, ‘that the pirates had their spies everywhere, and it would bring down vengeance upon himself.’

On the contrary, I expect that the Nankin Insurgents will succeed:—

1st. Because of the weakness, the wickedness, and the folly of the Imperialists, who in their desire to vilify the Insurgents, representing them as not mere men but devils, till the people believe them,—if not

more than men,—to be armed with more than ordinary power, and are therefore proportionally unwilling to encounter them ; they speak of their red eyes and strength ; till even the presence of the actual living ordinary man, or more often boys, will not convince them that their fears had deceived them.

And if the Insurgent cause should thus affect the Imperialists, it is not to be wondered at that their marvellous and uniform success should have established in their own minds the idea of cause and effect,—should seem proof positive that they are special objects of Heaven's favour.

For indeed it is a new thing that has happened in the midst of them, that with such small beginnings they should accumulate to a multitude, destroy the altars their fathers worshipped at, and overturn the customs of a hundred generations, under which their nation grew great ; and avow a foreign creed, and a creed their fathers knew not.

Nor is it to be wondered at, that many amongst them should have imbibed so little of the spirit of that foreign creed, and yet should have received an impulse, and be possessed with feelings of confidence that are a sure presage of victory.

2nd. Because they have dared to avow their belief in, and propagate a true religion ;—for, apart from any

higher reason why they should thence obtain success, the avowal argues a calm confidence in themselves, and in the justness of their cause, which must tend to success.

It may be argued that theirs is not a true religion, and it may be granted that there are grave errors amongst them ; but this does not touch the reason assigned. Still, as they publish the Scriptures without note or comment, and these in amount twenty times greater than all other writings of theirs, involving questions of religious truth, justice, and more certainly charity, dictates that we should take these as more fair exponents of their opinions on that subject, and believe they will obtain the success that belongs to truth. And as they do not appear to have met with any marked hostility on account of their religion, though they have destroyed idols wherever they moved, it is to be presumed that the people have lost all veneration for the religion of their fathers, and have arrived at the first stage towards the adoption of a better.

3. They are attracting to their ranks all who are hostile to the Mantchoo, all who are for progress, and all who are under any impression that any change would be for the better—without considering what the change should be, but feeling that the existing state of things cannot, nor ought to continue ; and lastly,

those who are being instructed by the various agencies, missionary, and other—and these each are numerous and influential, because they are the thoughtful, the most instructed in general knowledge, the most moral and polite, the most sensible of the degradation of their country; and if not convinced that this degradation is a necessary consequence of their false religion, they know, many of them, from their own experience of other countries, that it does not obtain to the same extent, or so uniformly, as in association with it. These shrewd and practical minds cannot but be revolted by the absurdities of their idol-worship, and the gross immoralities of their priests.

A few cases illustrative of the state of mind of some of these classes, will establish the foregoing statement.

The "Nevada," a Californian newspaper, mentions it as a curious fact, that many of the Chinamen in that region are Protestants, who take oath on the Bible in courts of justice, and say they were converted in China, by the labours of a missionary, whom they name with much love. They are peaceable and industrious, and give practical evidence that "their faith is illustrated by their works."

No doubt such is the attachment of the Chinese to their country and to their families, that they will return the moment they know there is a prospect of

their being able to live in peace in their own country, and of not only being able to worship according to the dictates of their conscience, but have an opportunity afforded them of conveying to their relations that knowledge which they deem to be of inestimable price.

There is also a certain amount of ambition amongst them ; and they have shown that they possessed enterprise, by leaving their own country upon speculation ; and the prospect now offering to gratify the feelings above alluded to, will not be without its influence in bringing them back to join in and perhaps favourably act upon the movement.

While I was at Hong Kong, a shoemaker received a letter from a relative in Nankin, inviting him to join the movement, stating that " they there were a holy band ; that he never was happy till he joined them, but that he was now quite so."

A Scripture reader to one of the foreign Protestant missions also at Hong Kong, also received a letter, not from Nankin, but from a party intending to proceed there from many hundred miles distant, inviting this man to meet them at an intermediate station on their route, which they mentioned, but which I now forget, and act as their " religious instructor." Thus it would appear that whatever errors, real or imaginary, have crept into the writings of the insurgents, they are re-

cognized by other Chinese, such as they represent themselves to be, as worshippers of Yesù, and professors of the religion taught by Christian ministers. If the infinitesimal portion of China that Hong Kong is, be considered, how great must be the influence exercised by letters of the same kind sent throughout China !

Again : I gave a passage to Shanghai to a man who had been an Imperial soldier, of the rank of a serjeant, whose life was in danger by his remaining at Amoy, after it was taken by the Triads, though he was a Christian, as he had been opposed to them in his official capacity ; and though he left the Imperialists, he did not wish to join the Triads, as he had no ideas on the subject of religion in common with them.

I directed him to be sent down into my side-cabin, till the ship should sail in the morning, lest any Chinese should see him, and report to the " Triads " that we were taking part in their quarrels. In the morning the day-light gun awoke him, and to my surprise, I heard some one singing airs that were familiar to me ; but the words I could not make out. I at first doubted that it could be him, for he sang in his natural voice, and Chinamen generally sing in a falsetto, which makes their voices sound somewhat like those of females. Reflection convinced me that it could be none

other, and he was singing hymns that he must have learnt of the missionaries, rejoicing at his escape.

He went up as a servant to the Bishop of Victoria, who was a passenger with me, and who had a high opinion of the man's consistency. Soon after our arrival, he became a Scripture-reader to Dr. Medhurst of the London Mission ; and, some months after, I was assured that his knowledge of Scripture was remarkable, and his facility of expressing himself in preaching made him a valuable man ; and that his consistency and devotion were perhaps even more remarkable. Cases of this kind might have been multiplied, but it is deemed that these will suffice.

4. Their moderation and consistency, with their light, is gaining over many followers.

The illustration of the truth of this assertion was shown, 1st, in their refusal of all connection with the Triads of Shanghai ; for the junction with them would have given them a most promising opening of communication with the sea and with foreigners ; for had they but established themselves at Shanghai, opened a custom-house, and claimed duties, they would not only have deprived their enemies of any resources that might have accrued to them through that source ; but they would have obtained an enormous accession of strength by the demonstration.

2. Their moderation is shewn in favourable contrast with that of the Tartar authorities, when their atrocities are compared with any authenticated cruelties of the Insurgents. I say authenticated, because many enormities have been alleged against them without foundation,—take for instance that of persecuting Roman Catholics ; which the officer of the French corvette Cassine found to be untrue, and that no Roman Catholic had been punished as such, though some might have suffered as violaters of the laws of the organization they had voluntarily enrolled themselves under.

Many, I am aware, whose opinions are entitled to weight, see an insuperable obstacle to their success, in the difficulty they will find in restoring order in so large a country, once disorganized by the overthrow of the Tartar ;—this opinion arises from overlooking the extent and power of the local government which exists throughout the country, and from supposing that the sole government of the country emanated from the Tartars, and would pass away with them.

Let but the court be substituted to-morrow, and the influence, in itself, would be felt only remotely by the people ; unless in the probable case, where there is a power capable of modifying the old laws and religion, and disorganization to a greater degree will not result ;

but much of that which now exists will cease, because one of the antagonistic forces will be withdrawn—the local governments will be free to act for the well-being of the people, and confidence to a greater extent at least, being restored, things would gradually return into their old channels.

The old habits of thought, and customs, are the conservative principles, that have preserved the state so long, and limited the power of successive rulers; they will in some measure limit those of any other; less, however, in proportion as their power may be greater; and it is interesting to consider the existence and effect of such a principle, when speculating upon the future of China.

The Insurgents fully recognize its existence; and in some of their proclamations they seek to establish a warrant for their innovations in former, though long-forgotten usages of their fathers; but the feeling exists, and will affect their opinions and conduct for some time to come—and hence they would have no wish to abrogate all old customs, and substitute new machinery. They would recognize the value, and avail themselves of the old, but would gradually apply a new motive power, and in some cases would give it a new direction.

Nor is this altogether imaginary, since we have more

than indications already, that this would be the course they would adopt.

We are told that they are giving immense currency to the Scriptures—that they have 400 men constantly employed in reprinting Gutzlaff's edition of the Bible, and circulating them without money and without price: the first government that has done so. Certainly the first that has acted out its principles upon so grand a scale.

Whether the Tae-ping has realized that the publication of the Scriptures, the thoroughly indoctrinating the people in their principles and precepts, is the only way of regenerating a nation ; or whether it is the mere adoption of the ancient practice of his country, substituting the Scriptures for the works of Confucius and his commentators,—is a matter of no moment, except as respects the estimate we form of this man's character and consistency ; that it is the first, might be argued, from his practice of making his soldiers the colporteurs, and his officers the expounders.

Be this as it may, or be his successes what they may, it is the grandest idea, and the greatest practical fact that has been given to the world since the promulgation of Christianity.

They are, we are told, introducing, or re-commencing literary examinations, to ascertain the merit of can-

didates for public situations, and we have every reason for believing, that they are making the Scriptures the text-book, instead of the Chinese books ;—admitting only so much of them as did not militate against Christianity.

If they consistently carry this out, it is impossible to estimate the amount of possible, or even probable good that may arise out of it.

We have seen the effect of the Chinese mind being imbued with a mere Chinese literature ;—we have seen how these examinations indoctrinated the literati, and the people through them, in systems all thoroughly false :—morality, history, geography, religion, all false, except the few isolated facts in arts and science, arrived at by a painful induction—how completely this process cast the mind of the nation in one common mould—how the minds of all ran in one common track—impracticable to all but themselves, and utterly incompatible with western habits of thought, and western ideas. What then will be the effect of changing the direction, and giving an increased power to the system ? What will be the effect, if that which we believe to be in process of being carried into effect is really so ? Such as the history of the world presents no parallel, we might almost say,—not even that with which they seem to compare their own case as being

similar in its exhibition of God's mercy, though it be a greater evidence of God's might,—even the deliverance of Israel from Egyptian bondage.

They will, by this process, if pursued, arrive by a short cut (a right royal one), at results that we only arrived at after a painful process, and centuries of misrule—eliminating errors and barbarisms only as the knowledge of Christianity slowly permeated the masses by a process immeasurably slow, and the more so, because there was a belief in most minds, still partaken of by weak ones, that there was a conflict between philosophy and true religion.

One of the weaknesses of our common nature seems to favour their advent to power, and that is the tendency in the human mind, to swing from one extreme to another ; and the Chinese mind seems now to be illustrating this.

The persistency with which they adhered to their old views, is only equalled by the rapidity with which they are now abandoning them and adopting others.

They studiously resisted all innovation or tendency to change, as a religious heresy ; as necessarily entailing a revolution in matters, manners, and measures, that would overwhelm them.

To follow the customs of their fathers, was enjoined as a religious duty, and they adhered to them with a

religious firmness that promises fair for the success of anything they may undertake.

History presents no instance of such scrupulous adherence to the commands of their fathers, unless it be one which receives such commendation and promise of reward ; namely, that of the sons of Jonadab the son of Rechab.

Besides which, there is a vigour, a vitality, and a practical purpose in the manner in which these men carry themselves, which so shrewd a people as the Chinese are, cannot fail to see is wanting in the court and court favourites. It may be, as it has been said of them, that they are illiterate and unfeeling in their manners, but they are eminently practical ; and they are the only party that present themselves offering any prospect of delivering the nation from its difficulties ; for it must continue in difficulties during the imperfect attempts at government which can emanate from the Tartars—want of confidence must continue as long as the contest lasts, and this must continue as long as the Tartar possesses any power ; their weakness and recklessness will be continually producing revolts, and the want of confidence will prevent trade and produce great distress.

Assistance from without, and convulsive efforts of their own, might stave off the evil day for a short

time, but nothing can now prevent an ultimate, early, and complete end being put to Tartar misrule.

The policy too often adopted by our Government officials in dealing with those of China, appears to have been dictated by a supposition that theirs was a strong and compact Government, which could, and certainly would go to war rather than concede to us, those rights which were ours by treaty, but which had not, as yet, been established by practice.

Hitherto there have been few Governments more weak, or more easily brought to terms than that of China; the system of Mantchoo rule is that of the basest of compromises—one in which fear and shamelessness are the most prominent motives. The capital, and indeed the northern provinces, are always so dependant upon supplies from the south, which are sent so entirely by the Grand Canal and Tien-sin, that the approach to these two places need only to be blockaded, to insure compliance with any reasonable demand; for which blockade four ships would be abundant at any time.

The abandonment of anything which firmness may obtain, and still more that which one has an obvious right to, conveys to the mind of a Chinaman himself uninfluenced by an high motive, cowardly and unaccustomed to moral distinction, and under a govern-

ment weak and time-serving—no other idea than that those who thus easily give up their rights, are themselves cowardly, or weak, or both.

Unless this want of knowledge of the state of the country was the cause of our yielding, one cannot conceive why we did ; for every concession obtained by us was progress, in which the Chinese-people were more really interested than we ourselves, for they were more benefitted by any change than we were ; the abandonment of any such was a step back into the exclusiveness which their rulers so much rejoiced in—every such step to them was a triumph that made them more insolent, and inclined them the more certainly, and more assiduously, to cultivate an exclusive and hostile spirit in the people ; and finally, they found this system of policy to succeed so well, that they adopted it as the only one suited for intercourse with foreigners (barbarians) generally,—though less so with the French than any ; for this nation seems to have understood them best.

The Toutai of Shanghai, Samqua,* who started in the

* Toutai Woo (Samqua, late Governor of Shanghai) we hear has been accused by his superiors on five counts, the principal of which are, 1st. Embezzling the duties collected at the port. 2nd. Complicity with the rebels. 3rd. His taking Lew into his pay, and yielding up the city of Shanghae to him. And, 4th. Entering into trading speculations with foreigners. He went to Soo

world as a coolie at Canton, and who by trade, it is said, latterly, as a partner in an American house, made money, and purchased his way up, used often to say, that he was chosen by his Government, because he knew so well how to deal with foreigners : his system consisted in enormous lying, great insolence, and in exciting the religious and national prejudices of the people against foreigners.

This statement of his was not without much truth ; for after the opening of the four additional ports, foreigners enjoyed more latitude at them than at Canton, a much more friendly feeling existed on the part of the people ; and much of this still remains, but the Government early set themselves, by chicane, to win these back, the consequence of which has been that there has been a constant fight on the part of foreigners, to continue to retain, and on the part of the Chinese authorities, to abrogate these privileges.

The Chinese Government have been gradually assimilating the usages of these ports to those of Canton, by introducing Cantonese to carry them into effect ;

chow some time since, and it is said, was there arrested and sent on to Peking. Lau is sent here to take his place, and Keih the Judge is in high favor, and has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Keang-soo. The former Governor, Keu-nae-chaou, has been deprived of office, and placed under the orders of Keang-yung."

for which purpose Samqua was introduced—a fitting instrument no doubt.

We gave up our right by treaty to enter the city of Canton, and in doing so we appeared to have done nothing injurious to our interests ; this I take to be a grave mistake, which is evident from an extract of an Imperial proclamation issued on the occasion of the degradation of Ki-yin ; the enlightened Ki-yin, he deserves a better master, and a more enlightened court ; where it alludes to Ki-yin's arguments in favour of their acting in good faith on the point of admitting us into Canton ;—in giving up the point we sacrificed him and his party, and arrested the progress of that party in the country who were favourable to European policy, honour, and honesty.

“ As to Ki-yin, his anti-patriotic tendencies, his cowardice, and his incapacity, are beyond all powers of description ; during his stay at Canton he did nothing but oppose the people in order to please the *barbarians*, to the great injury of the state ; was this not clearly proved in the discussion relative to the entry of the Europeans into the official city (Canton.

“ Very often, in the course of the present year, when he was summoned to our presence, Ki-yin has spoken of the English *barbarians* ; asserting how greatly they are to be feared, and how important it would be to

come to an understanding with them, should any trouble arise."

It was also a loss in a mercantile point of view ; for had admission been granted to us, its utility to the Chinese Government, and with that, the desire to keep up the prejudices and hostility of the people to us, would have been removed, a very decided breach would have been made in that system of exclusiveness, behind which, the Government had so long and so successfully intrenched itself, the merchants would have come in contact with dealers to a greater extent, or with a greater number of them ; and would have been enabled, by degrees, to follow their goods into the interior, and facilitate their transit to a greater distance, by removing unjust imposts or other impediments, not recognized by the spirit of the Treaty.

We allowed our people (officials as well, though perhaps not when they moved in state,) to be insulted as they passed along the suburbs, by being called Fan-qui (foreign devil) and other opprobrious epithets, and sometimes even to the length of being attacked and maltreated ; a few Englishmen were also murdered—perhaps they were in fault, or partly ;—but surely it cannot be tolerated, that any natives should be allowed to take the law into their own hands.

We allowed obvious excuses to hold against our

rights by treaty, to purchase land or houses, and other things needless to mention, all illustrative of the same principle—a yielding up our rights from an undue and unfounded apprehension, that the attempt to insist upon them would have been met by war ; which is a certain way of producing it eventually, especially when dealing with a selfish and cowardly people who will set no limits to their demands, or their unjust conduct, but those resulting from our forbearance which must always find a limit ; and then the regret is, that so much time, wealth, and forbearance, had been thrown away upon a people who had esteemed our pliancy to be no better than pusillanimity.

This injurious effect did not terminate with them ; it had a most injurious effect upon some of our own countrymen, and produced conduct, on their part, towards the Chinese, at once unjustifiable and injurious to our interests as a nation, and to our character as professing Christians.

To this policy may be attributed the bickerings and loss of life on several occasions ; for though in particular instances and immediate acts, the Europeans were entirely wrong, taking the law into their own hands, I can have no doubt but that they would not have done so, had our authorities always adopted and adhered to a decided line of action.

The people never would have demeaned themselves as they have done, if they had not been encouraged in their improper conduct by their government ; and they on the other hand, never would have encouraged them to go the length they did, but for the success which attended their own insolence and injustice, which ought not to be tolerated.

This insolence of the people brought down upon them, from some of our countrymen who knew their cowardly and deceitful character, contempt and contumely, which was often carried to the extent of harshness and violence—and thus the kindly feeling that might, and certainly would have grown up under ordinarily favourable circumstances, from intercourse with a Christianized people, was entirely prevented.

Our Treaty may be revised in 1855, and that of the French,—under which, with a declaratory clause as to its application obtained by our American friends, we enjoy extended privileges,—may be revised in 1856, at the expiration of which period we shall have to make a new treaty—the terms of which, and the manner of carrying out its provisions cannot be too early considered.

To enter upon the revision of our Treaty now, would be attended with most injurious consequences to our interests, and why it should be undertaken now is

difficult to conceive. Our Treaty, and that of the French, do not terminate, as is supposed respectively in 1855 and 1856,—each merely has the power of entering on a revision of those Treaties. But though they did, of what moment would that be? None :—since we have been virtually without any for two years—the only guarantees our people have had for themselves, or their property, has been our strong arms ; and as for our mercantile losses, we must put up with them, as it is valueless to have a lien upon an empty exchequer, or upon a dynasty that may soon be amongst the things that have been ;—consoling ourselves that there is better in store, taking the duties as a set-off to the extent of a few shillings in the pound.

To enter upon a revision of the Treaty now, would be a breach of the neutrality determined on, as the most suitable policy, pending the contest for empire ;—and neutrality being our policy, neither assistance, council, or countenance, can be offered as the purchase of an extension of Treaty privileges. The only reason that can dictate such a measure now is, the idea, that the Government of China is so weak, that it would easily yield all points in demand upon the first pressure. The answer to this is, that it has not yet reached its lowest point ; each day increases its embarrass-

ments, therefore each day's delay would add to the facility with which an extension of treaty-rights might be obtained.

But the argument itself is fatal to the proposition to move in the matter at present, for it admits great weakness in the Tartar Government ; which is admitting also, that any concessions would be valueless, as that Government would, by the shewing of those who advance the argument, be too weak to guarantee the fulfilment of the conditions.

Again, is not this admission of weakness an acknowledgment of the probability, that the Tartar Dynasty may be overturned, and with such an impression can it be wise to enter into any contract of the kind, while there is a doubt as to the permanence of power by one of the contracting parties. In fact there is nothing in the character, or in the past or present bearing of the Tartars towards us, that can warrant the departure from the strict neutrality we commenced with. They do not possess any qualifications that should claim the sympathies of Englishmen.

They never were faithful to their Treaty engagements ;

They are thoroughly corrupt and demoralized.

They sacrifice the lives of their people without cause and without scruple.

They are against progress, and hate foreigners as the embodiment of all that is revolutionary and bad.

They have always originated and stimulated popular feelings hostile to us.

Scarcely a single Tartar authority, except Ki-yin and Mou-tchang-ha, have ever made a shew of acting upon a fair construction of the treaty ;—and these we see were degraded and dismissed from the councils of their sovereign—their crime being, that they were favourable to England.

Again, what is the supposed advantage to be gained in point of trade ? Absolutely none, for we have no trade as a consequence of the power or protection of the Tartars ;—any that yet remains to us, is more due to the forbearance of the Insurgents ; yet it is not due entirely to them, for neither party dare stop trade altogether, and we shall continue to have an export trade irrespective of the influence of either party.

On the other hand, the Insurgents have given us to understand, that Hien-fung, the Tartar Emperor has ceased to reign, and this is true as respects a considerable extent of country, and the probabilities of his succeeding to re-establish his power are daily becoming less ;—it cannot therefore be wise to run the risk of incurring the hostility of these men, should they succeed to power ; when no possible good can be obtained that might not be better, because more easily obtained, without our running any such risk.

And lastly, there is nothing in the bearing of the Tartar officials to lead us to suppose otherwise, than that they are unchanged in their hostility to us at the court;—they are just as inflated and absurd as ever they were, and any application, such as that for a considerable extension of our privileges, under Treaty, will add to this unreasonableness. The spirit of the court is abundantly evident, from the conduct of the Governor-General of the two Kwangs on the occasion of a late meeting or grand consoo at Canton; when they unanimously acknowledged their difficulties, and their inability to extricate themselves, without the assistance of foreigners; but which opinion, though he fully concurred in it, he dared not act upon, because of the bigotry of censors, and the feelings of the court.

“ A grand consoo of the high officers, and gentry of the city has been held, at which the latter urgently recommended an appeal to foreigners for assistance. The Governor-general himself was in favour of the measure, but was deterred from acting upon it on his own responsibility, through dread of being reported at the capital by a censor, the only dissentient at the consoo, but a man of some standing; and the same who passed the memorial which led to Mou-tchang-ha's degradation. Meanwhile, however, a report of

the state of affairs, and an application for instructions, have been forwarded to Peking."

They are so averse to innovation that we cannot hope for any great concessions; and should we take any that they are willing to give as an instalment—should the insurgents succeed we shall get no more—those granted by the Imperialists would be made the base of negotiations. We shall not obtain now what we must eventually have, the free navigation of the Yang-tze-Kiang, as it would be against the interests of the Tartars to grant it, they not being in possession of that river, except just at its mouth.

On the other hand, the insurgents are willing to admit us to the rights usually obtained only by natives, or naturalized subjects of the same government; and they have given us an official document empowering us to travel the length and breadth of the land for the purposes of trade. Further, they give every promise of being faithful to their treaty-obligations.

They are the ascending party, with whom in all probability at no distant date we shall have to make a treaty; and with whom it cannot be wise to compromise ourselves. It may not be without its use towards making the case clearer, to revert to our practical relations with the Tartars.

Under the treaty, we have permission to trade only at five ports, and by that treaty we agreed to pay a tax upon all exports; but it was the duty of the Imperial authorities to collect it; this became difficult, if not impossible, owing to circumstances for which the Imperialists themselves were responsible, rather than our merchants, as is evident from a statement of the facts as they occurred.

Owing to the sense of insecurity which prevailed about the period, or before the capture of Nankin, the sales of imports ceased, while the amount of exports, if anything, increased; and money disappeared from circulation as fast as it was imported. Gold, from its greater facility of concealment, became much enhanced in value.

Hitherto the value of imports had much exceeded that of exports, and the balance was paid mostly in bars of silver or gold; the silver and gold, and the few dollars in circulation disappearing, and the balance being against us, the world was ransacked for dollars; but these disappearing as before, not into circulation, but by being buried—the supply never could meet the demand: therefore the price kept rising, till the price of the dollar went from five-shillings and three-pence to eight-shillings and two-pence, and as a consequence the price of exports went up proportionably, while the

price of imports went down, as there was no sale for them—so the merchant lost both ways; and as this was owing to the weakness of the Imperial Government, the merchant argued, and with reason, that he ought not to pay the duties, as he had undertaken the speculation upon the faith of the protection promised by the Treaty.

The argument, whatever its force, received a great increase by the capture of Shanghai by the Triads, who pulled down all the fixtures in the custom-house, and would have pulled down the house also, if they had not been prevented by us. Further, they would have sacked the British settlement if it had not been for our own forces; and not only were the Imperial authorities confessedly unable to render any assistance against such attacks, but they were unable to prevent an attack by some of their own people. Therefore they cannot have a shadow of claim to duties.

It may be said, as it has been, that it was the duty of our merchants, the moment it was ascertained that the Chinese authorities were unable to give the protection they were bound by Treaty—to have embarked their goods, their families, and themselves, or as much as they could, and have claimed indemnity afterwards from the Chinese Government—this would have been

unwise, and have entailed much misery, both upon our people and upon the Chinese.

The amount of property was enormous, and it would have fallen into the hands of them and their lawless bands. True, the Tartar Government was to blame, and if the loss was theirs, by all means let them pay the penalty ; but the probability was, that they would be succeeded by another—to which, or indeed to that of the Tartars, the insisting upon the payment of these losses would have proved fatal. The new government certainly would not recognize the claim, and to have insisted on it would have led to war.

It seems thus to have been but wise and politic to have adopted the course that was followed, that of defending our property from spoliation and destruction ; this course was as much for the benefit of the Chinese as of our own people.

The Tartar government having declared their inability to perform their portion of the compact, can have no claim to the duties which are due only when their part of the contract is complied with.

Nor could the Imperialists have stopped the trade ; as was proved by the fact, that when our consul proposed to insist upon guarantees being given, as they were in some cases, English vessels sailed under a foreign flag, and the Toutai could not prevent it.

It has been argued, on the other hand, that the authorities are entitled to the duties—first, because the exports were greater in that year than in any other.

The answer to which is, 1st, they were greater, not because of any Tartar Imperial protection, but because of *not* having it. The people wished to place their goods in safety, and therefore put them in the hands of English merchants without payment, trusting to their honesty and honour; an act creditable to both parties, but reflecting upon the strength and power of the native authorities.

2nd, To judge the question upon the exports only, is to look at only half the question. What were the imports? Comparatively nothing. And I fancy the balance was on the wrong side of the account.

It was also argued that they were entitled to duties, because whatever trade we had was due to them. That is not the fact: that we had any trade was owing to the forbearance of the insurgents. The Triads insurgents at Canton had no regard for trade and no forbearance, and we have no trade there. However our Government have properly determined that these duties shall not be paid.

It remains now to discuss what course should be pursued by our Government and merchants in China.

Whether the insurgents succeed in establishing a

dynasty or not, or whether the Tartars maintain a shadow of power, or partially re-establish themselves, or not,—are matters of minor consequence ; one thing is clear, China must be opened : the people wish it—suffering humanity demands it. The interests of its teeming population are involved in its being so, no less than is that of most countries, however remote ; and the existing rulers only oppose it from selfish motives ; because with it their tenure of office would terminate.

The Emperor, his court, and his mercenary pensioners, and numerous officials, have always sacrificed the interests of the people to the gratification of their own degrading pursuits.

Station has its obligations as well as its privileges ; to neglect the one is to forego all claim to the other. They have long since abdicated government, as far as any good was concerned, and are no longer entitled to any consideration.

China will certainly be opened, and immense good to the people will be the consequence : whether it come by the immediate leaders in the present movement, or not, they will be prime instruments in bringing it about.

The revenue we now derive from China amounts to eleven millions sterling, that is, including the three

millions received by the Indian Government as duty on opium ; yet this does not fully represent the advantages accruing to us from our China trade ; and yet even this is small in comparison of what it might be. If we were permitted, in the language of the yellow-silk document of the insurgents, " to go in and out, up and down, on our commercial operations," our trade might be indefinitely increased, to the benefit of their country even more than of ours.

Owing to the corruptions which pervade every department, trade is taxed to an extent that limits very much its extension, and the benefits are almost confined to the corrupt. The Government and the people, in general, are both cheated.

The duties are professedly five per cent., but owing to this corruption, these are raised very considerably beyond this rate, before they can reach far into the country, on the plea of transit-duties, and they are further subject to transit-expenses which might be avoided. Thus goods that are now sold at Shanghai, and have to travel by canal several hundred miles subject to many exactions and risks, and then by a further circuitous route with similar disadvantages,—might be taken straight to Han-chow, where the English merchant, or his agent, might follow them, and would then be able to sell them at a rate that would

enable him to compete with some of their own manufactures,—sell more of his goods, because he would bring them by this reduced price within the limit of a greater number of purchasers in any given district, and would have an immensely-extended district to operate upon. Further, he would be able to take commodities in exchange, which would not pay the transit expences and imports of the circuitous route, but which would afford him good profit, and yet serve the interest of the seller. Amongst these commodities may be mentioned coal. This, I have no doubt, may be had at £1. per ton, or less, when taken from near the pit, and in quantity.

We should also get our teas and silks cheaper, for they would be relieved from many of the transit duties, fees, and exactions, which they are now subject to.

There is a limitation put upon our trade by their penal code, which enacts, that “the houses, apartments, vehicles, dress, furniture, and other articles used by the officers of Government and by the people in general, shall be conformable to established rules,” which will be abrogated by the force of public opinion, as their intercourse with foreigners increases; and those who have gone abroad will acquire new habits and new wants, and they will carry back with them a

desire for the enjoyment of those things which they acquired a taste for abroad, and they will as certainly gratify them.

Every new opening for trade is a new benefit conferred on the locality, and, in its reflex action on the country at large, a benefit which the people are too shrewd not to perceive, and too sensible of their own interests, and too powerful in combination, not to contend for. Such opening becomes a new tie, a new guarantee for the preservation of peace, and that the terms of treaties will be carried out in good faith.

We ought to have the whole sweep of her mighty rivers, the larger and more numerous the better, as our intentions are honest ; for the lien upon her will be greater for good even in a mere political point of view. We shall the more easily and more quickly Europeanize them ; we shall have more extended means and opportunities of reciprocally getting and giving good ; and when we consider the whole question, the balance will be greatly in their favour, as, without money and without price, we shall confer upon them a Christianized civilization at least, and Christianity upon those who will accept it. Amongst the advantages which will arise from a change of Government and change of system, will be that of obtaining good and useful emigrants. Under existing

circumstances, they are dangerous both on board ship and in the colonies. One instance of this was shown the other day at Shanghai, where they are treated as well as it is possible for men to be treated ; some of them are even admitted to high positions, such as members of council.

The danger arises from the tendency there is amongst them to combine ;—indeed it is not simply a tendency, it is, under existing laws, a universal custom, which is always resorted to abroad, perhaps as a substitute for the family ties that exist at home, but are broken by the law which prohibits emigration, and which has been effectual in the case of females.

The danger and even the folly of this habit of combination was well illustrated by a case that occurred at Moulmein. One of the Admiralty surveyors had three hundred Chinese employed there, building the Malacca corvette ; these, after some instruction, he made very good ship-wrights, and found them easy to manage within certain limits, and when he did not conflict with their prejudices : outside these limits, however reasonable and however just, they would only do what they pleased—that which was the will of the whole.

These lived in a barrack, had no families, and placed themselves under barrack-discipline of their

own defining, and under chiefs of their own selection, to whom the decision of all questions was referred.

I arrived there in H. M. S. *Hermes*, after the operations at Rangoon ; and the ship requiring some repairs beyond the power of our own carpenters, I applied to this officer to assist me with some of his ; he answered me that he would be happy, but he was afraid—such was the peculiarity of these men—that they would not undertake anything new ; that is, any other work than that which they were employed on, without referring to their council, and this though they were working on daily wages ; and though my stay was to be short, I should have sailed before they had obtained the requisite permission. The result justified his opinion ; he wished to transfer some of them from the *Malacca* to the *Hermes*, but they would not consent without calling a meeting, stating the case, and obtaining its consent.

This works well, when their wishes and conduct are in accordance with law, but very dangerous when the reverse. It is owing to this power of combination that the frightful schemes of murder and spoliation on board Coolie ships have been successful ; yet I cannot but say that often they have had great provocation ; for though the ships in which voluntary emigrants, paying their own passage to California, are ten times

more numerous than those in which their passage is paid, yet there seldom occurs any such on board the former class of ships.

The Dutch seem to consider this custom as not altogether objectionable, and avail themselves of it in governing the hundreds of thousands of their Chinese subjects in Java and Borneo ; though indeed in the latter place they have lately given them some trouble ; and they had to turn the military out to quell the disturbance, which was so serious, as to claim notice in the speech of the King of Holland.

They allow them to select their chief, subject to the Governor's approval, after which he is given the rank of major, which is a considerable rank in the colonies ; and others under him have subordinate rank ; these are held responsible for the conduct of all the Chinese.

The great objection to this is, that it tends to perpetuate the isolation which is so justly complained of as injurious to the interests of the Chinese themselves, even more than to the community at large, as shutting them out from a full reciprocation of intelligence, and from an equal participation in the mutual benefits of the colony. It cannot be expected that they will take much care in forwarding the interests of that colony, which has so little personal and direct interest for them.

I cannot but think it a mistake ; as the object is not to perpetuate a class of alien, though tolerably well-behaved Chinese, but to obtain good and loyal subjects of a civilized government, whose interests are dear to them as being one with their own.

The objection to emigration arose from the fear of the country being revolutionized, by the influx of western ideas and western habits, brought back by the people from their temporary and voluntary exile ; and the results of this movement fully justified the fear that such would be the case. China once opened, this fear will pass away ; the fact of change will be admitted—the only question will be, the manner of change. This is certain, that families will emigrate, and respectable females also ; the family ties and influences will prevent the illegal combinations that took place when there were only colonies of men. These will become naturalized, and lose their national peculiarities, or impress the best portion of them upon the races they intermix with.

China herself being relieved of some of its redundant population, the material comforts of the remainder will be increased, from this cause, and from the increased number of channels of trade, and the more equal diffusion of it by freer intercourse, and the removal of many corrupt and corrupting obstructions.

It may be said that the late visit of the Rattler and Styx, made it clear that the insurgents are so inflated and fanatical that it is impossible to deal with them. This may be true of Yang-sew-tsing; but is there not equally strong proof, that many of them are far less so, and are otherwise more reasonable than the Chinese in general? Who ever heard of a Chinese that was not inflated and unreasonable in our estimation? What Chinese official do we know of, that was not extravagant in his views and bearing, at least, while he retained any sense of dignity—when not in fear, or depraved by opium? and experience teaches us, that persons newly arrived at power, are most inflated, and most so in proportion to the extent and rapidity of their rise;—why then, when we have a cause so patent and so sufficient, have recourse to the supposition that it proceeds from errors in their religious views.

We shall never understand their politics, till we understand their religious views, and yet, strange to say, we have not done anything to arrive at a knowledge of these. Much to the credit of the French, they did, and their diplomacy will profit by their having done so,—as we shall discover when too late.

The most unfavourable view of the Insurgents is that given by a writer who is too much prejudiced against Protestant missionaries, to give an impartial opinion—

a prejudice so strong that he thrusts it irrelevantly into prominence in a letter on the subject of the Insurgents :
“ Protestant missionaries are rarely if ever seen beyond the limits of a European settlement in China ; have too many ties to bind them to home, and consequently do not attain that success which might be anticipated.”

And yet what does his view amount to ? Why, that the incorrigible Yang was circulating the Scriptures—
“ that he gave them a reprint of them as far as Joshua, and asked them fifty questions of a theological nature, some of which were simply absurd, while others shewed an acquaintance to a certain extent with the New Testament, and a considerable spirit of research.”

It is quite evident to the most undiscerning, that the circulation of the Scriptures by the Insurgents is due to the instruction they received from Protestant missionaries ; and yet this writer would argue, that they have not done anything. Those in China have exercised a greater influence, for good, on their generation, than any class of men for centuries—as I am confident ultimate results will soon make clear.

Why, the very fact that “ he asked some fifty questions, as to the interpretation we put upon certain passages of Scripture, establishes indisputably two things, 1st, That they were studying Scripture, and discussing its meaning, and 2nd, That they, by thus asking, ac-

knowledge, that we understand its meaning better than they.

Their extravagance, even granting that it were general amongst them, has often been paralleled, but never in association with the publication of the Scriptures in their integrity ; these have always been falsified or suppressed, from the thorough conviction that these two could never exist together in harmony—that the truth would prevail. While they continue to circulate the Scriptures thus, and do not withdraw from circulation their earlier publications so much spoken of, for the large amount of truth they contained,—no mere arguments or loose statements respecting their extravagance or doctrinal errors will shake my confidence in the belief, that they have a living principle amongst them that will fructify and bring forth fruit to the praise of Him who ordereth all things after the counsels of His own will, and giveth not account to any man. Consequently, we can have no doubts as to what the results will be, even though there are people who say no good can come without instructors, and these dare not go amongst them—such opposers do not know the power of truth. If Yang does not wish the truth to have free course, he does not know what he is about ; the counsels “of Ahitophel are turned into foolishness,” or his will is overruled by his superior ; he is

evoking a spirit that he will not be able to controul or lay, should he so desire ;—that of which our Lord said, “ The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life,” will overcome him, though his name were legion. This is our confidence and our comfort.

Knowing by experience of the visits of the Susquehanna, Cassini, and Hermes, that foreigners would not submit to the ordinary rules of etiquette in the Chinese court, and not wishing to be humiliated in the eyes of his people, the Eastern Prince refused an audience to Sir John Bowring's attaché and the interpreter, in which there does not appear to me to be any thing extravagant ; the more particularly as these gentlemen had not the rank which should entitle them to obtain an interview with the Prince. It may be said he was only a claimant for such a dignity: this may be true in the strict language of law ; but are we in the position to question his right ? But why come in contact with this extravagance, by asking a public audience ? Why not obtain the necessary information privately ? Why not send missionaries, who by their previous studies, knowledge of religious phraseology, clerical character, and popularity amongst them, are best calculated to confer with them, and give them satisfactory answers to their questions on the subject of theology ; which they could do without in any way compromising

us politically? Or if determined to communicate through official people, why not seek quietly a private audience, like M. Bourbalon, the French minister, who did so with the usual tact of a Frenchman?

As for their refusing an audience, there is nothing singular in that; it is quite consistent with Chinese etiquette. When the Viceroy of the two Kwangs arranged to meet our Plenipotentiary, he took pains to disguise the fact from the Chinese, by giving out that he was going on a hunting excursion, or to inspect the Bogue forts.

To my mind our course is clear; we should have nothing to do with either party till they have decided the question of empire, or until one has arrived at that point when to defer assistance were to injure China by allowing disorganization to continue longer.

Being virtually without a treaty, we can have no difficulty in disregarding the Tartars equally with the Insurgents whom we never recognized, and should push our trade in every direction—up to Shanghai and Peche-li, where our woollens and hardware would meet with a ready, though limited, sale for the present: we might have furs amongst other things in exchange.

Up the Yang-tse-kiang,—certainly as far as Hanchow, the emporium of China,—unless we have access

thus far into the interior, we cannot expect a sale for either our hardware or machinery, nor an extensive sale for our cotton cloths. With this, we may obtain coals in abundance, at a reasonable rate ; and taking it will extend the sale of our products. We should push it at every port. Much no doubt might be done at the island of Formosa, where coals may be had in large quantities, at £1. per ton ; and up the Canton river to Chaw-king. The Indian Government,—Major Edwardes of the Bengal Civil Service, shows, in a memorandum which he prepared on the subject,—should push our trade by the Indus and Sutledge, by the way of Ladakh, through Thibet into China, for which the enlightened Regent of the former country is fully prepared, and seemed, when Mon. Huc and Gabet visited him, only waiting for the removal of the incubus of Tartar Chinese misrule, to enter upon heartily.

Major Edwardes further shows that, in 1836, the trade carried on by Russia with China, by their overland route, amounted to fifty-six millions roubles, which must have been materially increased since then ; and this by a route much more circuitous, dangerous, and expensive, from the levying of customs' duties and " black-mail," as the price of protection, by the petty governments whose territories it passes through,

—than that which he proposes: the prosecution of which would not only inflict a blow upon Russia, but would also obtain for us an outlet for some other of our manufactures besides the hardware and broad-cloth sent in to supplant those of Russia: because by the Indian route we can reach parts of Thibet and China which are only easy of access from India. They would readily take our woollens there; and, to the north, I do not know anything that a Chinaman admires more, or that more excites his curiosity, than our fine cloth. All our attempts to trade to the north have failed, not because the people were averse to it, but because the Government were. They dare not evince that, now their existence is so much at stake.

The greater number of points at which they are attacked, the better. Every point of contact may be a point of immense influence—a standing-ground from which we never can be dislodged; for we shall thereby establish wants amongst the people that must be satisfied. No ruler can long resist the will of the people in China: their tendency to combination is such, and so effectual, against their governors. And in proportion as we fear the hostility of any power that may obtain the ascendancy, in that proportion should we seek auxiliary forces from amongst their own people; to bend them to right, to reason, and to justice,—to

that which is for our mutual good. Theirs, no doubt, will be the greater profit ; and because so, we can have no difficulties in adopting any such course,—difficulties arising out of any mere conventional ideas of propriety, because we have no Treaty on which to proceed. That we virtually have not one is not their fault.

When the time comes for making a treaty, whatever party may succeed to the Empire, it will be absolutely necessary that we should insist upon having a representative at the court, more necessary if the Tartars should succeed in re-establishing their power,—though I have no expectation of any such result ;—it will be necessary, owing to the corruption which exists and must exist in all departments, and the unscrupulous lying of all government officials, that we should have an agent to represent us truly, and to obtain a real compliance with the conditions of whatever treaty may exist between us.

The spirit of our treaties have been constantly violated by Chinese officials, by their improperly punishing Chinese servants for complying with orders of their masters,—orders that were no violation of law ; to prevent which unjustifiable and intolerable exercise of authority, our officials have been obliged, as also those of other European nations, to throw the shield of protection over these Chinese subjects, by consider-

ing them, for the time being, as naturalized British subjects, or other Europeans—a line of conduct not warranted by treaty, and only justifiable, because of the extreme lengths the Chinese authorities proceed on the other side; lengths which, if not guarded against, would be quite intolerable to Europeans.

I need hardly say that this is not the proper way to meet such cases; no unwarrantable claims should be tolerated in either party.

The stereotyped orders of the Tartar court to their subordinate officers, when dealing with foreigners (barbarians) have always been, “to be deceptive;” this must not be tolerated. Such a principle of action destroys all honesty and all confidence. We ought to be frank; it will be our interest to be generous. It is our duty to be just; and we must be unswervingly firm, to deal effectually with Chinese.

We must hope that the day is gone by when any representative of England will stultify his Christian profession, and that of this country, by boasting that we are not like the French and Portuguese, in desiring to make proselytes to our faith.* Much

* Lord Macartney, in answer to the supposition, implied in the Chinese emperor's letter that he had some purposes of proselytism in view says, “Whatever might be the practice of some Europeans, the English never attempted to dispute or disturb the wor-

to the credit of the French diplomatists, they are not ashamed of their missionaries, for they always take care not to exclude them from the benefits which treaties confer ; but, on the contrary, introduce special clauses to protect them and their converts.

If the plain-spokenness of Lord Macartney is not practised by many of the men of our day, much of his spirit, with less to justify it, is prevalent, and most amongst those who assert that Protestant missionaries have done nothing ; forgetting, if such be the case, that much of the demerit must lie upon them, for the disabilities they place these missionaries under. Our treaty with China obtained privileges only for those

ship or tenets of others, being persuaded that the Supreme Governor of the universe was equally pleased with the homage of all his creatures, when proceeding from sincere devotion, whether according to one mode or another of the various religions which he permitted to be published ;—that the English came to China with no such view, as was evident from their merchants having no priests or chaplains belonging to them as the other Europeans had ; and that, so far from an idea of that kind entering into my mind or my commission, I had not in my whole train any person of the clerical character, and that it was such persons only who were employed as the instruments of conversion : that it was true as stated in the letter, the English had been anciently of the same religion as the Portuguese and other missionaries, and had adopted another ; but that one of the principal differences between us was, our not having the same zeal for making proselytes which they had."

who were employed in trading operations. The French subsequently obtain privileges for their clergy, and their converts ; but they so distinctly defined those of their own religion, by designating them the worshippers of Tien-chu, who use crosses and pictures, that our missionaries obtained no advantages, until the American minister obtained declaratory clauses from Ki-yin, that extended the benefits of these clauses to all professing Christians of the West ; and thus fully repaid us for the liberality of the terms of our treaty upon the subject of trade.*

With strange inconsistency we interpose our advice in favour of the Nestorians, and our armies to stay the progress of the oppressor, but we leave some of our people without the protection which is their due. I must not be understood as complaining of the first, for it is noble ; it seems to be the high mission of our great nation to stand like the Apocalyptic angel with the everlasting gospel in her hand, preaching peace and good will to men ; but in the name of common sense, to appeal to no higher principle, what is the meaning of excluding the missionary from all the

*. It must be stated, however, to the credit of M. Lagréné, the French Plenipotentiary, that on his discovering the limitation he pointed it out, and requested, that though "other nations did not conform to these, that still there should be no distinction or obstruction."

benefits which are accorded to the trader, as if, in becoming a missionary, he ceased to be an Englishman.

It may reasonably be doubted whether the ignorance complained of in the insurgents would have been so great, had Protestant missionaries received from their authorities, the amount of countenance and support that was consistently accorded to those of the Roman Catholic religion by their Plenipotentiary, and consular authorities.

In seeking to make a treaty, it should not be undertaken hastily or unadvisedly. And, for a start on a new course, it might be well that we gave them a couple of war-steamers, this would serve many purposes of importance.

1. It would materially assist to win for us the confidence we require for early progress in profitable intercourse.

2. Premising that they would be suitable for their seas, and rivers, it would enable them to perform their own police-duties on the coast ; protecting their trade and ours also, against pirates.

3. It would give them a taste for our machinery, and shew them that it was a profitable investment.

4. It would help to instruct them in many matters, which it is desirable that they should learn.

These vessels should be complete in all their appoint-

ments, and the officers and crews should remain to instruct Chinese to take their place ; which instruction should be complete and systematic, so as to demonstrate what could be done by and with Chinese.* The gift, and the conduct, would shew that we were honest in our expressed willingness to reciprocate advantages ; than which nothing better could be devised for breaking down more completely the wall of prejudices which separate us.

This line of conduct will be the more necessary, if the Tae-ping establishes a dynasty ; and yet there seems to be a disposition to treat them,—the present insurgents, supporters of that dynasty,—with superciliousness and doubt. What reason have we for expecting that they should see eye to eye with us ? Why then should we doubt them because they do not ? why not rather act upon the principle, that confidence begets confidence ? In not insisting upon our rights,

* In opposition to some Chinese scholars, I am an advocate for applying the Roman character to the different dialects of China. I cannot but think that it will be long, if ever, before the Chinese symbols are calculated for teaching dogmatic Theology ; till then we must expect errors in doctrine, which it will be difficult to avoid. A greater or equal desideratum would be arrived at by their application, and that would be the getting rid of the vile, useless, and untrue matter contained in their own literature.

we sacrificed Ki-yin, Mou-tchang-ha, and the growing English party. By treating the insurgents with superciliousness and doubt, we are throwing the power into the hands of the impractical and fanatical, and sacrificing the sensible and sincere. However, under any circumstances, change must come; and as it is brought about by influences from without, it must take its direction from that of the impulse, so must be in accordance with western ideas. It will be salutary and soon, and China will be thrown open to the commerce of the world, and the Chinese admitted to intercourse with, if not into, the great family of nations. Unwise interference may retard and injure, it cannot prevent this.

China once open, Thibet will be free to adopt the enlightened ideas of its Regent.

The King of Siam, relieved from the degradation of being obliged to send an ambassador to pay tribute to savages, and his trade no longer tramelled from without, will rise in his own estimation, together with his people, and they will make efforts to take their place in the march of civilization.

Corea and Japan will no longer be encouraged in their marked feeling for isolation. While the influence of Burmah, though remote, will be favourable from our recent acquirement of territory there.

The influence of literature in these countries is such, that if it does but receive a Christianized character, the effect upon the mass of mind they represent will be prodigious—towards the civilization of the nation, not towards its Christianization : we have no warrant in Scripture to ascribe to it the latter. It is because some have believed that there is a warrant for such, that they have formed an undue estimate of the Insurgents in the first instance, and are now proportionably dispirited at the existence of grave if not growing error amongst them. It is just what might have been expected ; not one particle of God's promises or of his purposes have failed. He still doeth all His will.

ADDENDA.

NOTE A.—Page 282.

These six Kings are all southern men, from the provinces of Kwang-tung and Kwang-si, their names are—

Hung-siu-tsiuen, the Heavenly King ;

Yang-siu-tsing, the Eastern King ;

Siau-chau-kwei, the Western King ;

Fung-yun-shan, the Southern King ;

Wei-ching, the Northern King ; and

Shih-tah-kai, the Assistant King.

About the *personality* of the first, Hung-siu-tsiuen, obscurity and doubt still predominate. I am not aware that any foreigner has seen him since the outbreak of the Insurrection ; or more recently than 1847, when, for a short season, he is believed to have been a resident in the house of the Rev. I. J. Roberts at Canton. No one among the people or officers, whom we saw at Nankin, would tell us that he *had seen* him, though they all spoke of him as then present in that city, and as the greatest on earth, being “ the *second son* of the Heavenly Father.” No one ever spoke of him as Tae-ping-wang,

but always as Tien-wang, "Heavenly King." Formerly, at the commencement of their enterprise, they said that he also bore the title of Tien-teh, "Heavenly Virtue," but had laid it aside, for the time being, on account of the warlike character he had to sustain. In some of their more recent books, he is called Uhhiung, "second brother," (Jesus being the first), and by the Heavenly Father he is once addressed by his common name, Siu-tsiuen.

The second on the list, Yang-shu-tsing, is quite a different character. No doubt exists as to his personality. To the Heavenly King he is more than Aaron was to Moses. By the officers of the court, he is regarded as almost, if not altogether divine. With them it is a fearful matter to approach his "Golden Person." Thus high in dignity, and great in influence,—alike with the Royal Fraternity and the popular mind—his name is continually before the public; and prefixed to it, in all his state proclamations, are the following titles in broad capitals:

"Of the truly Heaven Ordained, the great peaceful Heavenly Kingdom, the Comforter, the Holy Spirit, the Universal Provider, the Redeemer from maladies, Prime Minister of State, Commander-in-chief of the army, the Eastern King Yang."

The use of some of the terms, in this long list of titles, is as extraordinary as it is unintelligible; *blasphemous* I do not say, only because I do not know, and am unwilling to believe, that these terms applied to the Godhead by inspired penmen and here assumed to himself by a sinful mortal, have been,

or are, understood by him. Indeed I ~~fear~~ exceedingly that the "Golden Intelligence" does not yet know—nay, that he has not even begun to know,—~~that~~ there is any Holy Ghost. I was anxious, beyond measure, to test this point by a personal interview; and it was chiefly for this one object that I desired to remain at Nankin, while the two steamers proceeded on to Wuhu and back. I wanted to have an opportunity, if it were possible, to correct or rebuke such ignorance—and to bear testimony against the use of the terms *Kiuen-wei-sy* and *Shing-shin-fung*, in a manner so shocking. *Kiuen-wei-sy* is Gutzlaff's translation of ο παράκλητος, and *Shing-shin-fung* is Morrison's of τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.

The title *Ho-nai-sy*, "Universal Provider," as I have ventured to translate it,—is not only new, but if literally rendered would be utterly unintelligible to all but the initiated. It is an enigma, and would seem to be employed as a sort of watchword.

P. S.—Since writing the foregoing, a paper has reached me, purporting to be an historical sketch of *Hung-siu-tseuen*. In it are these sixteen words, forming a stanza of four lines, thus :—

San pah 'urh yih
Ho nai yuh shih
Jin tso yih tu
Tsoh 'urh min keih.

This stanza has been regarded as prophetic, foreshadowing that the persons referred to in it, were to become, one the sovereign, and the other the prime minister of an universal

kingdom. The four words of the first line, rightly placed together, make the family name *Hung*; the first and second of the second line make the word *Siu*—grain is yuh-shih, i. e. grain is precious food; the first, third, and fourth, of the third line, make the word *Tseuen*—complete Tso, i. e. grain is completely provided; then comes the conclusion, in the fourth line, *Tsch 'urh min keih*, i. e. Hung-Siu-tseuen shall be the people's Regulator, and Yang-siu-tsing shall be his prime minister, providing the Staff of Life for all people; *Nai mai*, "drawing together" as one family, all the nations of the earth!

Other explanations have been given, all, with the one above, more or less arbitrary, and alike false. The instances are numerous, where the Insurgents have changed the form or meaning of the characters of the language. For instance, when writing the word Kwoh, to denote their own country, Judea, and Heaven, these kings do it by delineating royal personages within an enclosure, but in all other cases by describing therein, what is common, uncertain, or of doubtful character! The two words, or two forms of the same word, differ in sense but not in sound; differ, I mean, only in the Insurgents' vocabulary.

NOTE B.—Page 283.

Two of the books, on the new list alluded to above, bear directly on this point. One is "A Discourse on building the Heavenly Capital at the Golden Mounds," i. e. Nankin; the

other is "A Discourse on degrading the monsters' den into a prison-house for sinners," i. e. on making Pekin a Botany Bay.

NOTE C.—Page 283.

"Bring tribute" is a well-established phrase, and one of no doubtful meaning, in Chinese; it is written *Tsin kung*, and it does not mean taxes on land, nor duties on merchandize; but offerings, gifts; with reference to ourselves, and all others from afar, the language used was this—you, or they, "must prepare (and bring) extraordinarily fine and precious things," such presents as the kings of Corea, Cochin China, and Siam, are now accustomed to bring to the Court of the Great Pure Dynasty.

NOTE D.—Page 284.

It is proposed to remark here, that the original of these paragraphs was prepared at the suggestion of Mr. E. H. M'Lane, for his government at Washington; in that case, this allusion was wholly apposite; and it so well illustrates the matter in hand, that its insertion here will I hope be pardoned. As the mother country did not know any authorities "in the Colonies" except those of her own appointing, so, and much more, would it be heresy for ministers in the Heavenly Capital, to recognize as office-bearers, any but those appointed by the Heavenly King.

NOTE E.—Page 288.

From the original Doxology, as it appeared in the books brought down by the *Hermes*, it was believed that the Insurgent kings had gained some correct knowledge of the “Holy Father,” “Holy Son,” and “Holy Spirit,” for which latter they used the terms *Shing-shin-fung*, and *Shing-ling*, and used them interchangeably. But from their new version, as given in the North China Herald, No. 204, June 24th, it is quite certain that its author—the author of that new version, can have no knowledge of the Holy Spirit.

NOTE F.—Page 294.

In the new list of Books, twice alluded to above, only one-and-twenty are enumerated; but we were told by some, that they had already published four-and-twenty, and by others five-and-twenty. Copies of all these, and in any quantity we wished, were promised to be in readiness for us on our return from Wuhu;—but the determination, subsequently and prudently formed, to pass by the Heavenly Capital, and leave to themselves its rulers, for a season, prevented our obtaining the promised supply.

P. S.—Of that new one brought by our party, containing a new Revelation, I have purposed here to give a synopsis, but as this has been promised from another quarter, it is now omitted. One thing only will I note, which is, that in it, the words of Jesus, that a Comforter should come into the world

after him, are applied by Hung-siu-tseuen to Yang-siu-tsing; like one of old, quoting Scripture to support his wicked perversion of its true import.

NOTE G.—Page 296.

The notions of a Brotherhood, a universal Brotherhood, often expressed by the Insurgents, clearly militates against the opinion that there are any subordinate associations, like the Triads, existing within their new kingdom. All under Heaven, they said, were Brethren, but there were different classes; whenever they made any distinction between themselves and us, we were called "*Foreign Brethren*," and "Brethren from a Foreign Land."

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